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The politics of knowledge : selected black critiques of western education 1850-1933.

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THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE:

SELECTED BLACK CRITIQUES OF WESTERN EDUCATION 1850-1933

A Dissertation Presented

By

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To my pillars of support

Cita and Pop-Pop,

and

my sheltering arms,

Kamayu, Tasmia, and Ạsegun

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ABSTRACT

The Politics of Knowledge: Selected Black Critiques
of Western Education 1850-1933

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This study posits that as an academic discipline, Black Studies has as its historical antecedent more than a century of vigorous struggle for interpretive power and definitional control of the Black experience. The demands of Black students on black and white campuses for an education relevant to the needs and aspirations of the Black community shook the foundations of the Academy. Yet the thrust of angry Black students during the late 1960s was not the first serious intellectual offensive launched aganist white-controlled education. Though distinguished by its passion and polemics, Black Studies was not new. Rather, the Black Studies movement represented a resurgence of Black nationalist sentiment inextricably linked with the quest for the redemption of Black history and its meaningful interpretation.

At least a century prior, Dr. Edward W. Blyden of St. Thomas and Liberia devoted his life to challenging the West's racist, ahistorical image of Blacks. An educator, Blyden was profoundly committed to the

development of what he termed "the African personality" and politically espoused repatriation of Disasporan Africans. A generation later, his "disciple", Joseph E. Casely-Hayford of the former Gold Coast was equally concerned with the "African nationality" and the appropriate role for the emerging Western-educated elite. In the United States a decade later, Carter G. Woodson, "the father of Black history" grappled with the same issue, charging the West with the deliberate "miseducation of the Negro".

This study examines the politics of knowledge in the context of these three Black responses to the West's distortion of Black history and Black humanity. Their indictment of Western education as a retarding factor in racial uplift and the complicity of Western academicians in the perpetuation of racism is central to the focus of this study. It is argued that Afrocentric Black Studies create a constant tension in the Academy due to inherent ideological differences.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

> The phrase "Black Studies" has become an acceptable designation for all studies primarily concerned with the experience of people of African origin residing in any part of the world . . . . it includes the experiences of Africans, Afro-Americans, Afro-Asians, Afro-Europeans and African descendants of the Caribbean and other island territories (Ford, 1973, p. 3)

As an academic discipline, Black Studies had a difficult birth during the social struggles of the 1960's. Born out of Black student unrest, as well as the larger Black community's clamor for social change, Black Studies remains steeped in controversy.

> In the very early years (1968-1970) some honored members of academe questioned whether there was a body of knowledge or sufficient sources on which to build a Black Studies course and not threaten the respectability of the academic tradition (Task Force Group et al. 1976, p. 2, emphasis added)

Academicians raised specific questions concerning Black Studies' goals, purposes and structural relationships within institutions, epistemology and methodology. This implied that "in Black Studies, as in practically all other endeavors, Blacks had to prove themselves" (Ibid.).

Positive proof of the capacity of Black people to affect social reform emerged out of the student sparked Civil Rights Movement. Their methods of picketing, vigils, sit-ins and marches had proven

successful against overwhelming odds. These tactics were borrowed by Black and white students of the 1960s who began to challenge the universities. The university was seen as a key institution in a larger network of coercive institutions created by the established order to maintain and perpetuate the status quo. "By the end of the decade, students combined the need for university reform and the unofficial war in Vietnam with the issue of race as their major concerns" (N.Y. State Legislature, 1970, p. 49). Students argued that the university could not equivocate on racism, which was viewed as a national malady.

> Pictured as a microcosm of society, the university was defined as racist, sick, unresponsive, rigid and supportive of war, exploitation, oppression and exclusion of Blacks, other Third World peoples and the poor from the social knowledge, wealth and power of the U.S. society. The decision was then made to take up the struggle against society at the point of its "brain" or put another way, at its "intellectual factor" which produced both its leaders, followers and cherished social myths . . . . It became important then to break the white monopoly on knowledge and its manipulation and create a new context for the creation and dissemination of a new knowledge directed toward community rather than its suppression (McElvoy, 1969 quoted in Karenga, 1982 p. 18; emphasis added).

The call for Black Studies that echoed across U.S. college campuses was not so much a sudden demand as it was a variation of a traditional theme within the Black movement (Allen, 1974; Pinkney, 1976; Karenga, 1982). A central theme of the material struggle of Blacks in the U.S. is the struggle for educational access and equality (Woodson, 1919; Bond, 1934; Weinberg, 1977). The degree of organization and institutionalized results distinguish the efforts of Black students and their supporters of the late sixties. However,

associating the birth of Black Studies with the 1960s is erroneous. Eighty years ago, DuBois attempted to institute a series of scientific studies on the Black 'problem' in the U.S. (Long, 1971). Yet, Black critiques of the racist interpretation of Africanity, white monopoly of critical knowledge, as well as questioning the intent of Western education, antedate DuBois. Historically these critical polemics form part of the intellectual antecedents of Black Studies. It is these intellectual responses to Western cultural hegemony and their manipulation of knowledge which are the focus of this dissertation.

The evidence indicates that the appreciation of Black history and culture are inextricably linked with forces intent on Black liberation (Allen, 1974; Ballard, 1970; Chinweizu, 1975; Hare, 1969, 1972; Karenga, 1982). Moreover, the systematic denial of the humanity of African people is inseparable from the TransAtlantic slave trade, the rise of capitalism and its subsequent exploitation of land and labor (Blyden, 1905; James, 1963; Rodney, 1972; Williams, 1961; Williams, 1974). Institutionalized racism became the exponent of organized oppression by providing a collusion of forces working to limit the destiny of African people. The elimination of racism and oppression has been the motive of the Black liberation struggle on the African continent and in the Diaspora.[1] This struggle has been persistently waged along both the material and immaterial fronts.[2] Black resistance to Western psychological domination and the war against Western ideology has been a subtle component of this struggle.

The investigation of Black Studies' historical antecedents reveals a continuous stream of efforts on behalf of "race work" in the U.S.,

the Caribbean and Africa. Selected for inclusion in this study are Edward W. Blyden of St. Thomas and Liberia, Joseph Casely-Hayford of Ghana, and Carter G. Woodson of the United States.

Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) spent his life grappling with the legacy of slavery: the lingering myth perpetuated by Europeans that presumed the inferiority of African people. In the process, Blyden became "the most outstanding Black intellectual and litterateur of the nineteenth century" (Lynch, 1971, p. xi). He argued that there was an "African personality" and believed that the only way for the African race to gain respect was for its members to establish partially Westernized new nation-states in Africa. Initially he advocated emigration as the means to accomplish this. For Blyden Liberia, the colony founded in 1822 and independent since 1847, was the nucleus of this vision. Even though he was viewed as a politician, clergyman, diplomat, West-African nationalist, and Pan-Africanist, Blyden was essentially an educator. A major ambition was achieved when in 1880, Blyden was appointed President of Liberia College. He sought to create:

> an instrument carrying forward our regular work, devised not only from intellectual ends but for social purposes, for religious duty, for patriotic ends, for racial development. (Blyden quoted in Lynch, 1971, p. xv, emphasis added)

Moreover, he emphasized that the College was not a Liberian institution, but a Pan-African college in Liberia. He intended to make the curriculum relevant by establishing a chair of Arabic and West African languages. The College's doors were open to local African officials (traditional chiefs) and Muslim scholars. Mass adult education was

encouraged by the college's offering of public lectures, "the first of which he himself delivered on 'Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Emancipator of Haiti" (Ibid., p. xv).

By the turn of the century West Africans were struggling under the heels of a well-entrenched colonialism. Colonial governments relied extensively on the Western-educated natives who comprised a small elite. Whereas during the early to mid-nineteenth century Africans, African-Americans and Englishmen collaborated in shaping Anglophone West Africa's political development, the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw Britain tighten its controls. Sustaining this resurgence of imperialism was pseudo-scientific racism. Western-educated West Africans reacted with an upsurge of cultural nationalism, re-evaluating traditional arrangements and identifying their role in perpetuating a distinctively African way of life. The most wide-ranging attempt to define not only West Africa's problems, but the appropriate response from the new elite came from Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford (1866-1930).

Casely-Hayford was educated in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Britain where he gained professional legal qualifications. Upon his return to the Gold Coast as a barrister in 1896, he quickly emerged as a leader in the dispute over the colonial government's attempt to interfere with the traditional system of land-holding. He used his skills in journalism to become an advocate for the Aborigenes' Rights Protection Society and consequently published his ideas in Gold Coast Native Institutions (1903). He also became a disciple of Dr. Blyden and attempted to work out an acceptable patriotic role for the West-

ern-educated elite in an intellectual autobiography in novel form, entitled Ethiopia Unbound (1911). The work sought to rally Africans throughout the world in defense of their culture, institutions and racial integrity (July, 1967; Kimble, 1963; Ofosu-Appiah, 1975).

Like Blyden, Casely-Hayford believed that at that time in history, the Western educated African's role was to expound and preserve the ideas of traditional Africa (Wilson, 1969). Moreover, Casely-Hayford believed that education should be the cohesive force holding together all strands of the great African civilization. He thought that wholesale imitation of the Western form of education should be eschewed, as much as possible.

Like Blyden, Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) used research to clarify the distorted history of African peoples. Born in Virginia of ex-slave parents in Virginia, Woodson was one of nine children. He was twenty when he entered high school but went on to study at Berea College in Kentucky and the University of Chicago. By 1909 Woodson was working on a doctorate in history at Harvard University, which was awarded three years later. He had a brief tenure as Dean of Liberal Arts at Howard University (1919-20) and later at West Virginia Institute but gave up classroom teaching as a major interest a couple of years later (Romero, 1971). Instead he was determined to "turn his historical training and preparation to the best racial account" (Hoover, 1968 p. 108).

Woodson learned early in his career that whites were generally unwilling to publish any information that countered the dominant ideology of Black inferiority. In 1915 he paid his own publication

and circulation costs for his first book, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861. That same year Woodson and four others organized the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (hereafter referred to as the ASNLH) which was committed to

> the collection of sociological and historical data on the Negro, the study of the peoples of African blood, the publishing of books in this field, and the promotion of harmony between the races by acquainting the one with the other (Woodson, 1925, p. 598).

In January 1916, Woodson singlehandedly launched the successful publication of The Journal of Negro History, which was circulated on all five continents and began its second year with a circulation of 4,000.

Though some would argue that Woodson is best remembered by his volume The Negro in Our History (1922) and his celebration of Black history with Negro History Week, Woodson did a great deal more to popularize Black history. His central belief was that history was an educative force and mobilizing tool which could eliminate racial prejudice. Woodson (1933) envisioned real education as a means that inspired people to live more abundantly. Like Blyden and Casely-Hayford, Woodson believed that Blacks had special proclivities which required development and faulted formal education for its insistence on imitation, rather that innovation from Blacks. Woodson's criticism of Western education for Black people and its useless products are contained in The Miseducation of the Negro (1933), a key work that will be discussed.

Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson are but three Afrocentric scholars who contributed significantly to the struggle against Western

intellectual and cultural domination. The contemporary battle for Black Studies as an academic discipline is another major thrust in the ongoing struggle for Black ideological autonomy.

Background/Statement of the Problem

> We have as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds. If you extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would be on the level with the beast of the field, and we should be safe (Anonymous slaveholder quoted by Kenneth Hoskins before Senate Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, July 27, 1971, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office document 59-411, p. 5866).

Literature abounds concerning the material struggles waged globally by African peoples (see Appendix A). Within the last twenty years, publications by Grier and Cobbs (1968), Thomas and Sillen (1972), Fanon (1968) and Memmi (1967) contributed to the newer body of psychological literature examining the impact of racial or colonial oppression. The advent of this literature seems long overdue, given the centrality of racial oppression in Black life. This literature is complemented by Black scholarly attention to education, historically a high priority with Black folk.[3] The submergence of race as a bonafide educational category raises some critical questions concerning the process of social science research. As Thomas and Sillen (1972) observed, researchers are not immune to the "disease and superstition of American racism." As long as the assumption remains that good scholarship is "neutral" and that race, class and gender are differences that make no difference, the status quo is upheld. Thus,

racism within the Academy remains intact. If this happens another generation of scholars and educators will be bereft of intellectual contact with non-"mainstream" points of view. This study intends to challenge the white liberal "taboo"[4] against the notion of racial uniqueness and reexamine it in light of how three Black intellectuals viewed it between 1850-1933.

This study examines the arguments against the Western manipulation of critical knowledge and the impact on Western educated Blacks as presented by three English-speaking Blacks on both sides of the Atlantic. Critical knowledge here refers to accurate information concerning African peoples and cultures as well as the broader Black human experience.[5] The pivotal questions central to the study are:

i) What institutional arrangements facilitated the entrenchment of the Western monopoly of ideas and critical knowledge?

ii) How did Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson critique Western control of the interpretation of Black history and the Black experience?

iii) With respect to higher education, what were the implications concerning the scope and direction of Black education?

The assertion of the positive uniqueness of Black people and their Africanity contribute to the ideological dichotomy underpinning the Black Studies controversy today. The reluctance of Western academicians to acknowledge inherent ideological differences in the conceptualization of Black Studies (Sessoms, 1983) and the denial of cultural specificity in approach, favoring instead a "universal" paradigm (Richards, 1980) smokescreens the politics of knowledge.[6] This study posits that the racist Western image of African humanity

did not go unchallenged by Black people, and that at least a few Black intellectuals strongly criticized the complicity of Western schools and academicians in perpetrating these ideas. Specifically the study aims to:

i) Underscore the primacy of racism as a factor influencing Black life by connecting the experiences of Africans on both sides of the Atlantic.

ii) Identify and acknowledge the role of the school in oppressive racist societies and the problems of intellectual dependency it fosters in Blacks.

iii) Focus discussion on the arguments and efforts of three Western-educated English speaking Blacks from both sides of the Atlantic who resisted Western power over interpretation of Black history and experience, assimilationist tendencies and posited specific thoughts on relevant education for African people.

The period 1850-1933 has been selected for several reasons. Moses (1978) identified the period from 1850-1925 as the "golden age of Black nationalism." Logan (1970) called the post-Reconstruction period in Black history as the "nadir" when "the betrayal of the Negro" was completed. World War I provided African people with an opportunity to prove that they were entitled to the rights of citizenship because they were willing to die for the host country.[7] By the 1920s, bored Western intellectuals "discovered" African art and ontology while Harlem had a "renaissance." By 1933, when Woodson's seminal volume, Miseducation of the Negro appeared, the U.S. had experienced several mass movements by Blacks who had reconsidered their designated status in this society. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was undoubtedly the most broadly based and impressive. Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, now the

World Community of Islam has had the most longevity. This span of almost a century is the background from which the intellectual antecedents of Black Studies arose.

The quest for the redemption of Black history from oblivion and the meaningful interpretation of the Black experience, two philosophical pillars of Black Studies, is an "integral tradition in Afrikan-American intellectual history" (Turner and McGann, 1980). Indeed, the rescue of Black history from white distortion combined with the defense of the Black race, preoccupied early Black historians such as George Washington Williams, William Cooper Nell, J.W.C. Pennington and William Wells Brown (Thorpe, 1971). Later, "Negro" historical societies would find that these tasks defined their goals as well (Wesley, 1964; Moss, 1981).

Karenga (1982) identifies a dialectical relationship between history and humanity:

> It is a fundamental fact that only humans have history and when Europe could claim without effective challenge during slavery and its colonization of African peoples and lands that Blacks had no history, they could and did also claim that Blacks were not human. For to be denied historical achievement is to be placed outside of humanity (Karenga, pp. 50-51).

The Tunisian writer, Albert Memmi commented, "The most serious blow suffered by the colonized is <u>being removed from history</u> and the community" (Memmi quoted in Rodney, 1972, p. 225). Colonialism and slavery combined to insure that Africans were "no more makers of history than were beetles . . . . objects to be looked at under a microscope and examined for unusual features" (Rodney, 1972, p. 246). The European interruption of African societal development resulted in

inestimable technological stagnation, distortion of indigenous economies and the submergence of African history. (Rodney, 1972,; Williams, 1974; Ben Jochannan, 1972) According to Rodney (1972) modern African revolutionary thinkers such as Nkrumah, Cabral and Fanon expressed the same sentiments when they spoke of colonialism having transformed Africans into "objects of history" (p. 230).

Reinforcing the brutality of colonial plunder and slavery, Europeans subsequently argued that the technological distance between the two continents was due to African biological inferiority (de Gobineau et al.).[8] To prove the inability of those of darker hue to self-govern, every device of science was mustered:

> Evolution was made to prove that Negroes and Asiatics were less developed human beings that whites; history too was so written as to make all civilization the development of white people; economics was so taught as to make all wealth mainly due to technical accomplishment of white folks supplemented only by the brute toil of colored peoples; brain weights and intelligence tests were used and distorted to prove the superiority of white folk. (DuBois, 1965, p. 37)

During the eighteenth century, earlier Biblical explanations of Black inferiority due to the descendancy from Ham were supplanted by pre-Darwinian references to a "great Chain of Being." Scientific discoveries by Kepler, Newton and others gave impetus to the belief that great answers to great questions, even answers to social problems would fall into convenient patterns. In this atmosphere, Buffon, deMaupertius and Linnaeus[9] developed elaborate philosophical systems describing the origin and development of humankind as a "Chain of Being," a graduated continuum from the lowest to the highest forms of life. Blacks of course, were closer to apes than whites. This scien-

tifically acceptable explanation of Black barbarism and lack of "cultural sophistication" provided the reasons that Africa remained primitive, irreligious and "uncivilized." Whether Africans were seen as sons of Ham or as a lowly part of a Linnaean gradation, they were widely held in contempt by scientist, politician, philosopher and historian (Bruns, 1971, pp. 230-238). Colonialism and slavery, "far from being reductionist economic systems" (Opoku, 1970, p. 180) asserted themselves over their subjects in every conceivable way (Opoku, 1970, p. 180; Fanon, 1965, 1967).

Opoku (1970) points out that the attainment of political independence by former colonial territories does not end the stranglehold of Western imperialism. He states, "Even more important than political and economic independence is <u>independence of the mind</u>, which is the sine qua non of any genuine independence" (Ibid., p. 179). Malcontent with the exploitation of natural and material resources, colonialism directly and indirectly attacked the psyche of its "subjects".

> That we still seem convinced that we can build our country on the basis of intellectual concepts developed in Europe shows the extent to which we remain tied to our former masters . . . . and we often pay them undeserved credit by our imitation, as if they had exhausted the possibility of humanity (Ibid., pp. 180-181).

Opoku argues that the role of schooling is pivotal in maintaining this attitude, for education consists of a trip into the "glittering world of Europe." Schools teaches Africans "how others live, not how we live. . . . what others have done, not what we have done--and then we go out and imitate them" (Ibid.).

African peoples' preoccupation with imitation in part extends from

the predominant assimilationist-integrationist tendency. Since their humanity was questionable, it made sense to stress their similarities with Western man, "the human being par excellence."[10] The demolition of stereotypes was a principal impulse of Africans who broke the color bar. The medical and anthropological tradition that Black brains were inferior continued virtually undisturbed into the present century (Thomas and Sillen, 1972).

Christianity's role in colonial plunder and slavery was pivotal (Ajayi, 1965; Pinkney, 1976). Its invasion into family and traditional African life, the destruction of sacred ritual and secular law was rationalized by a common belief. "The triumph of Europe was to the glory of God and the untrammeled power of the only people on earth who deserved to rule" (DuBois, 1965, p. 33, emphasis added). A commonly held belief was that the natural superiority of white peoples was manifested by their adherence to the loftiest of religions and in their technical mastery of the forces of nature. Armed with Christian principles, missionaries (mainly white, but also some Black) ventured to the "Dark Continent" as unwitting ambassadors of cultural imperialism. "Millions of pounds and dollars went into the conversion of the heathen to Christianity and the education of the natives" (Ibid., emphasis added).

Given this background, it is not surprising then that the first task of Black historians was the positive redefinition of Africanity. Included in this task was the defense of Blacks as active, creative, members of the human family. The preeminence that racism continues to enjoy in Western culture indicates that contemporary demands for Black

Studies are still rooted in these fundamental concerns. Between 1850 and 1933 no one stated the case more eloquently than Edward W. Blyden, more prophetically than Carter G. Woodson or more emphatically with mass appeal than Joseph E. Casely-Hayford.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine Black intellectual resistance to Western cultural hegemony in two areas. First, the arguments made between 1850 and 1933 challenging the Western colonial interpretation of African people and their history are examined. Secondly, the study addresses how three African intellectuals in different parts of the world viewed the role institutionalized schooling played in perpetuating Black psychological dependence and notions of cultural inferiority.

The study aims to add a global Pan-Africanist perspective to issues in Black Studies today. The addition of this perspective in Black educational history specifically is important as it acknowledges the rich intellectual contributions of Edward Blyden, Carter Woodson, and Joseph Casely-Hayford.

Significance

The significance of this study is that it seeks to address the fact that Black Studies lack a cogent, commonly acknowledged, theoretical base upon which the discipline rests.[11] This study

proceeds with the vision that the present predicament within the Academy and declining student enrollment should not be separated from the broader social reality of Black struggle. Potentially, the study is of particular value to Blacks in academia and other educators who are concerned about the academic indifference to Black Studies. Specifically this study deals with the intersecting of historical studies within the philosophy of education.

The philosophy of education has more than a theoretical significance. In dealing with prescriptive questions of education, philosophy takes on great meaning in practice. When the experiences of African people is neither reflected nor interpreted in the texts and anthologies of educational history, students of all colors are denied contact with great African minds who have systematically considered the question of education. Of graver importance is the insidious racist message transmitted when African thought and ontology are excluded; that is, that African people are incapable of philosophical reflection. By rendering Africans and their statement of the world in their own terms invisible, contemporary paradigms of philosophy of education perpetuate the historical devaluation of Blacks. The definition of the subject matter itself facilitates racist Western policy. By maintaining Africans as invisible, inequality is institutionalized. Moreover, the academic disciplines are adversely affected because the concepts and cases which inform them and against which they are tested are derived from a monolithic, Eurocentric experience. Race is a historically significant factor. Therefore the exclusion of race as a relevant educational category leaves important

questions unanswered.

A summary review of educational literature reveals that few studies exist which consider the experiences of Africans on both sides of the Atlantic under one rubric. The historical, cultural and political linkages among Africans and their descendants are obscured by nomenclature such as "Negro," "West Indians," "Hamites" etc. (Ben Jochannan, 1972). Considerable tensions have erupted in some Black Studies departments concerning the scope and parameters of the field (Blassingame, 1972; Robinson et al. 1969; Sowell, 1972). African Studies, long the province of Western "Africanist" scholars necessitated that Black Studies exist as a separate, autonomous entity.[12] Thus, this study is simultaneously an examination and critique of an academic structure based on white male norms.

While a central theme in Black history has been the struggle for access to literacy and education (Woodson, 1919; Bond, 1934; Weinberg, 1970), cross-cultural comparative studies of Black educational experiences are relatively sparse. A major theme dominating Black social and political thought in the U.S. has been the dilemma of acceptance or rejection by the West (Brotz, 1966; Isaacs, 1963; Marable, 1981; Pinkney, 1976). Politically, this translates into movements tending toward assimilation or autonomy.[13] This study addresses the important question of whether or not Blacks have called into question the Western monopoly of critical knowledge. Interpretive power over the Black experience and the use of schools in establishing cultural hegemony are related questions.

If educational philosophy is going to stop serving the interests

of racism, capitalism and patriarchy, educators must be at the forefront of critical questioning and analysis (Freire, 1973). The stage upon which the human drama is set must be reconstructed, not merely in reductionist economic terms as Marxists and Machiavellians have already done, but by synthesizing and relating data and ideas from a framework that presumes the interdependence of all life and being. Perhaps we could then conceptualize a world where humans are trained for cooperation, not competition or conflict. Toward that end, this study offers a modest beginning.

Scope and Delimitations

The chronological limits of this study are 1850-1933. This period encompasses the "golden age of Black nationalism" (1850 - 1925 in Moses, 1978) and the critical years between Western world wars when the U.S. economy plummeted. Masses of Africans living within the borders of the Unites States despaired of ever gaining access to the key economic and political avenues in the society, reserved by legal segregation for whites only.

Turner (1977) argued that between 1845 and 1861 life for Blacks in the United States became "increasingly intolerable." The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 indicated that the government "not only sanctioned slavery, but also safeguarded it." The latter act proved a victory for slaveholders as it localized the issue. The most emphatic statment on the position of Blacks in the United States was contained in the 1857 Dred Scott

decision. This decision reinforced that a slave was property without rights of petition or legal protection in court, and that residence in a free state did not necessarily liberate a slave.

Consequently, to those Africans who felt alienated from the ever-increasingly racist society:

> There remained the lure of Africa-this time in the enticing form of Liberian political independence in 1847. Between 1850 and 1860 emigration reached an all-time high. In one decade Liberia had settled the unprecedented total of 2,029 emigrants almost as many people as had been settled over the past three decades (Lynch, 1967 p. 25).

Turner characterized this period as an era of Black emigration schemes, largely independent of white aid, culminating in the formation and articulation of a definite Black nationalist ideology.

The following period (1870-1915) Turner described as one of great disappointments and disillusionments. He noted that more independent Black schemes were formed during this time than ever before. The first Pan-African Conference (1900) was held during this period as well.

When World War I was declared white politicians lured Blacks into the armed forces with promises of equality. More than 350,000 Black men served but the promises were empty (Franklin, 1948; Pinkney, 1976). By 1915 the Ku Klux Klan resurfaced in Georgia and within a decade estimated its national membership at four million. Pinkney (1976) noted that "The summer of 1919 was called the 'Red Summer' because 26 major race riots erupted between May and September" (p. 39)

> White citizens, in and out of the Klan, poured out a wrath upon the Negro population shortly after the war that could hardly be viewed as fit punishment even for a treasonable group of persons . . . . Ten Negro soldiers, several still

> in their uniforms were lynched . . . . Fourteen Negroes were burned publicly, eleven of whom were burned alive. In utter despair a Negro editor of Charleston, South Carolina, cried out, "There is scarcely a day that passes that newspapers don't tell about a Negro soldier lynched in his uniform." (Franklin, 1948, p. 472)

Between 1915 and 1930, the Garvey Movement dominates any discussion of Black nationalism. Indeed, as Turner (1977) indicated, Garvey's distinction emanated from his ability to bring Black nationalism into the life of a large segment of the Black working class. The UNIA, was the most successful of a series of Afrocentric organizations that responded to the tightening web of segregation by urging self-reliance. To reach the masses the UNIA published weekly between 1918 and 1933 the Negro World, which at its peak circulation of about 20,000 established it as the leading Black weekly of the period. The UNIA also developed businesses such as the Black Star Line, the Negro Factories Corporation, and grocery and restaurant chains. According to Pinkney, (1976) the UNIA was "the first black organization to embrace the complete spectrum of black nationalism" (Pinkney, 1976, p. 46). Garvey's charismatic leadership was interrupted by a spurious conviction of mail fraud in 1925 (Cronon, 1969; Martin, 1976).

Ever resilient, Black nationalism resurfaced during the summer of 1930, when a mysterious Dr. Fard began proselytizing about Islam, Africa and the white man in Detroit.[14] The year 1931 brought the infamous Scottsboro case when nine Black males were sentenced to death for the alleged rape of two white women[15] and 1933, a march on Washington. Led by the Communist inspired League of Struggle for

Negro Rights, 3500 marchers proceeded with a "Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro People" intended for President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The year 1933 also marked the appearance of Woodson's seminal work, Miseducation of the Negro and the cessation of the UNIA's Negro World.

The years 1850 to 1933 also had great significance for West Africa. Rodney (1972) points out that by the nineteenth century, internal changes in Britain had:

> transformed the 17th century necessity for slaves into the 19th century necessity to clear the remnants of slaving from Africa so as to organise the local exploitation of land and labour. Therefore slaving was rejected in so far as it had become a fetter on further capitalist development (p.137).

Although Europeans had long inhabited the West African coast, they failed to penetrate the interior despite their knowledge of gold and other resources. The success of two mid-century expeditions changed that. From 1850 to 1856 Heinrich Barth explored the Western Sudan and in 1854 Dr. William Baikie led an expedition up the Niger River and then up the Benue River, about 900 miles from the sea. The significance of the latter voyage was that quinine was regularly administered and not one member died (Collins, 1971). This paved the way for a mini-scramble for the area by British and French interests. This study does not focus on Francophone West Africa for two reasons. First, colonial language barriers effectively isolated Anglophone and Francophone educated elits from each other. In addition, "nationalistic and Pan-African ideas developed much later in French West Africa" (Wilson, 1971, p. 16).

Ayandele (1970) indicates that from the mid-nineteenth century to

the early years of British rule in this century Anglophone West Africa was a distinct geopolitical entity. Institutions served as the link between the four West African territories. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) Grammar School in Freetown was attended by "Gold Coasters" until 1876 and Fourah Bay College served the entire area until universities were established in Nigeria and the Gold Coast after the Second World War.

> The vitality of the prevalent West African-ness of those days may be judged from the desires of leaders of elite opinion to know parts of British West Africa outside their own areas. Majola Agbebi travelled to Liberia and Sierra Leone, Casely-Hayford and Blyden to all colonies (Kimble,1963,p.64).

Independence was granted Liberia in 1847 and Edward Blyden arrived there early in 1851 (Lynch, 1967). Liberia and Sierra Leone represented the pinnacle of Black nationalist hopes and an attempt to "refashion relationships between Guinea, the homeland of the Negroes, and the Christian West on a new and libertarian basis" (Wilson, 1969, p. 17). They were everywhere regarded as experiments in the capacity of Africans for self-rule.

The missionaries wielded considerable influence and concentrated on the colonial roles to be played by Western educated Africans. Class differentiation was desirable and seen as a prerequisite to the successful introduction of commerce (Ibid.). The development of an elite soon gave rise to rumblings for self-rule, which prompted resolutions in 1865 that seemed to promise eventual British withdrawal. A swing in political events in Britain that enfranchised the British working class caused racism to resurge. Suffrage obscured class cleavages and instead allowed superordination and subordination within

the Empire to conform to a more racial, rather than class frontier.

> All this was especially galling to the new middle class of British West Africa, proud of its own conquest of Victorian social decencies. The way was open for a fresh vindication of the African race, which would remove some of the sting from white pretensions to superiority and provide relief from current political frustrations (Ibid., p.34).

These developments fueled West African nationalism and the drive for self-government and independence which dominated the first half of the twentieth century.

Discussion of educational developments in the Anglophone Caribbean is basically limited to Jamaica, the largest "British West Indian possession" (excluding Guyana in South America) and prototype for colonial policy.

As the significance of the study is largely rooted in its Pan-African approach, the absence of discussion that would frame an integrationist/assimilationist ideology is deliberate.

While due attention will be given origins of data and the weight of the evidence however, the study's central impulse is interpretation. Higher education is frequently singled out to offer examples because of the university's role as an intellectual clearinghouse and its charge to fill the differentiated administrative and managerial occupations (Brathwaite, 1965; Chinweizu, 1975; Cruse, 1968; DuBois, 1903; Mazrui, 1975, 1978; Opoku, 1970). Woodson (1933) argued that the conferral of a degree tended to neutralize one's potential for service to the (Black) race.

Moses (1978) and Lynch (1967) cite Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden as a principal advocate of nineteenth century Black nationalism/Pan-Afri-

canism. His development of the "African personality" coupled with his outstanding accomplishments in higher education justified his inclusion in this study. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, on the other hand, whose career spans both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and who is widely considered the "father of Pan-Africanism" is not included. An erudite scholar and activist, Du Bois's ideological development was hardly linear. At different times he embraced the idea of the conservation of the races as organic cultures, and at others, assimilation/-integration. This ambivalence makes it impossible to neatly pigeonhole DuBois into either the Black nationalist or the conservative assimilationist tradition (Moses, 1978). This coupled with DuBois's primary concern with the political expressions of continental Pan-Africanism in terms of African independence, and the wealth of literature already available on DuBois did not justify his inclusion as a central focus of the study.

Booker T. Washington, whom no one can deny molded the shape of Black education in the latter nineteenth century, was not selected for major discussion. His emphasis on practical, vocational training appeased both conservative and liberal white elements. His Tuskegee model was seriously considered for Liberia. Though Washington spurred motivation for a form of Black economic nationalism, he was far from a militant or global Pan-Africanist position. The African Union Company which he organized to promote trade between Africans in the U.S. and Africans in Ghana (then the Gold Coast) emanated more out of his capitalist aspirations than any commitment to racial unity (Allen, 1970, p. 95). A skillful operator, Washington is remembered

by many progressive Black elements, and many nationalists, as an accommodationist and an "Uncle Tom."

The full treatment deserved is neither given to Marcus A. Garvey who masterminded the largest mass organization of Africans in the U.S. this century. Garvey's educational plans and practices may merit a dissertation on their own. Garvey's program stressed political reorientation toward African repatriation and economic growth. Yet his powerful pen and oratory did not neglect the realm of proper psychological orientation for African people (Martin, 1976). While not a scholar and graduate of higher education like Blyden, Casely-Hayford or Woodson, Garvey's tireless efforts in the cause of Pan-Africanism and his remarkable achievements merit mention in this study. To deal effectively with the research questions from the broadest perspective available, persons of African descent have been selected from the African continent, the Caribbean and the United States "educated" elite. To miss Garvey on this account would undermine the authenticity of the analysis.

This study deals with selected Black critiques of Western schooling and the Western monopoly of power over the interpretation of the Black experience. Resources and funds have limited the study to English speaking Blacks. The expanded parameters include West Africa, the ancestral home of most Africans dispersed in the West, and parts of the former "British West Indies". A comprehensive survey of intellectual resistance to Western dominance offers a serious challenge, and the inclusion of Anglophone Southern and Eastern Africa are notably absent from this study. Similarly, the author regrets not

being able to bring to bear the impact of the literary explosions, negrismo and la negritude, on the arguments presented and the concept of Africanity.

Assumptions/Definitions

"To speak means . . . . to assume a culture".
(Frantz Fanon)

This study proceeds with the following basic assumptions:

1. It is important to treat the experiences and intellectual impulses of Africans on both sides of the Atlantic congruently.

2. Black nationalism/Pan-Africanism is a valid intellectual tradition worthy of educators attention and analysis.

3. A wide variety of sources, crossing the "traditional" disciplinary lines, will be necessary to treat the topic. This is consistent with Black Studies methodology. (Bryant, 1975)

4. The concept of social neutrality in the Academy is idealistic or naiive.

5. Schools have been critical proponents of the "upward mobility ladder" theory. Particularly detrimental for oppressed racial groups is the fact that at the same time, schools functioned as instruments of cultural reproduction and have been seed beds for Eurocentrism.

6. While the masses of African people remained blatantly oppressed, there were "exceptions." Many of these tended to be relatively "well-schooled" apologists for African people. Most of these people accepted unquestioningly the cultural supremacy of Europe.[16] This study is an attempt to identify those "exceptions" who raised questions and criticized the West.

Definitions are pivotal to this dissertation. The researcher makes the assumption that she has the right to depart from the systematics

imposed by the arrogance of Western thought. Furthermore, the reader is asked to seriously question the Eurocentric baggage s/he has been laden with in order to evaluate the limitations on her/his conceptual parameters. It is the researcher's view that this burdensome task of constantly and consciously seeking evidence of the oppressiveness of language and systematics is a small price to pay for a more balanced and wholistic view of the world.

Recognized history is replete with distortions as we are taught to think of "Indians" rather than native Western hemispheric peoples who divided themselves into nations of Algonkin, Lakota, Chippewa and Apache. Further, we have in the United States "Negroes" rather than Africans. These errata perpetuate the arrogance endemic to the Western labelling of "civilization and "natives".

Language is intricately bound up with an individual's sense of identity and group consciousness. Smitherman (1977) observed:

> In the history of man's inhumanity to man, it is clearly understandable why the conqueror forces his victim to learn his language, for as black psychiatrist Frantz Fanon said, "every dialect is a way of thinking." Certainly this principle has been operative in the history of colonized people, where the colonizer's language and culture occupy a position superior to that of the colonized, even among the oppressed persons themselves. (p. 171)

During the 1960s, Africans in the U.S. refashioned the English language to more adequately reflect their redefined self-image. Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure) dared link "black" with "power" and the Black Arts movement[17] emerged as the "appropriate artistic counterpart to the politics of black power" (Ibid. p. 177).

Alkalimat (1969) applied this process to the discipline of social

science, arguing that what people call themselves has significance because it links them to their ancestry and relates to their role in the history of humankind. "The Negro is held to be a creation of the West since slavery was supposed to have completely separated us from Africa, making all that we are what they have made us be" (p., 31, emphasis added). He developed an alternative set of concepts for social analysis presented below "based on Revolutionary Pan-African Nationalist ideology"[18] (Ibid.), that are used throughout this study.

Table I

Terms of White Social Science	Terms of Black Social Science
Negro (non-white)	African (black)
Segregation	Colonization
Tokenism	Neo-Colonialism
Integration	Liberation
Equality	Freedom
Assimilation	Africanization

Terminology

The following definitions are operational within the framework offered above.

African — Commonly referred to as Sub-Saharan Africans, Black Africans or Negro Africans, the research refers to indigenous Africans (who are Black as opposed to immigrant ethnicities such as Arabs in Northern Africa) and descendants of Africans who identify with this ancestry. In the broader view, Africans are now indigenous not only to the mother continent

but to various parts of the "New World." It is used interchangeably with "Black."

Africanity — Used here to refer to intangible and material manisfestations of African culture. (Nobles 1972, 1978; Diop 1974,1978.)

Afrocentrism — The suffix "centrism" refers to a group's ability to define and posit the world in their own terms with their needs, values and concerns central to that vision. Thus, Afrocentrism is the capacity of African people to theoretically conceptualize the world in African terms relative to the centrality of the Black or African experience. It is the immaterial corollary of the material expression of Pan-Africanism (Asante, 1979; Karenga, 1982). Myers (1984) argued:

> From the Afrocentric perspective true knowlege must prove consistent with nature (empirically verifiable) and assume the natural order of the universe; high value is placed on being in harmony with nature . . . The Afrocentric view posits human consciousness as the undisputable fact of the universe which is known to us by direct and immediate self-knowlege. To know oneself is to realize one's identity and role in the totality of consciousness (p. 8).

Black — Commonly refers to the African race recreated by the West as "Negroes." In its broadest sense it includes all indigenous African, Australian, "New Guinean," some Asian and Southern Pacific peoples who share the same ranges of pigmentation, hair textures and other vestiges of "race." In this study it refers to African peoples unless otherwise indicated.

Black Studies — The study of the multidimensional aspects of Black thought and practice in their current and historical unfolding necessarily implied is that view of the Black experience perceived and told by Black people as opposed to even a well-intentioned outsider (Karenga, 1982). Its methodology is interdisciplinary (Bryant, 1975).

Culture — The totality of a people's expressions of themselves in spiritual and material terms as opposed to a folk definition of culture as the fine arts. (Karenga, 1982.)

Cultural Hegemony	Preponderant influence or authority of one nation or group of nations over another in the above areas.
Cultural imperialism	The raising of cultural hegemony to the extent of annihilating one culture by the superimposition of the intruding one; this level is characterized by the discouragement of critical alternatives by arguing there are none (Carnoy, 1974; Karenga, 1982).
Epistemology	This study or a theory of the nature and grounds of knowledge, especially with reference to its limits and validity.
Eurocentrism	The capacity of Europeans and their descendants in the Americas to define and posit the world in their own terms with their needs, values, and concerns central to that visions; Eurocentrism is the dominant ideology in much of the world and has links with racism and cultural imperialism.
Negro, negro	In the researcher's view, this is a misnomer applied to African people.[19] To quote, Sarah Webster Fabio, "Negro is a psychological, sociological and economical fabrication to justify the status quo in America. . . . [sic]. Black is the selfhood and soul of anyone with one drop of Black blood who does not deny himself [sic]. America wants Negroes and niggers but not Blacks" (See Black World, Sept. 10, 1968, p. 34).
Pan-Africanism	A working definition cannot be easily summed up in one sentence. Confusion arises from the tendency to identify one aspect of this complex phenomenon and emphasize it to the exclusion of others. Esedebe (1970) defines:

> Pan-Africanism may be described as a politico-cultural phenomenon which in its early stages regarded Africa, Africans and persons of African extraction as a unit. It has consistently aimed at the regeneration and uplift of Africa and the promotion of a feeling of unity among Africans in general (p. 127).
>
> Pan-African thinking originally began in the New World during the decades following the American Declaration of Independence. It represented a reaction against the maltreatment of the Negro and the racial

doctrines that marked the era of abolitionism. It also found expression in the independent African church movement usually called "Ethiopianism" as well as in protests and revolts against the activities of the colonising Europeans (p. 111).

Race	A sociobiological category debased to establish human worth and social status. (See Ashley Montagu, 1963).
Race Consciousness	The celebration and appreciation of ethnicity, that commonality among people bound by history and tradition.
Racism	A system of denial and deformation of a people's humanity, history and right to freedom based on the specious concept of race.
Systematics	The science of classification.
The West	Those nations which presently comprise Western Europe and the United States and Canada. Chinweizu (1975) points out, "The U.S. with only 6% of the world's population consumes 40% of its resources. Western Europe with only 10% of the world's population controls 30% of its trade. The West, for half a millenium, had been living high on the hog and hog is the rest of us" (p. 414).

Notes

1. Diaspora is a term commonly associated with the Jewish experience. However, it has also gained currency among contemporary Black scholars. Here it is intended to mean specifically those places in the Western hemisphere Africans were scattered to as a result of the TransAtlantic slave trade.

2. Immaterial struggle refers to those aspects of resistance not aimed solely at the improvement of material (economic) concerns. Historically, immaterial struggle is meshed with the fight for the improvement of objective or material conditions. In this study it encapsulates, but is not limited to the realm of ideas. Since the late 1960s the immaterial struggle has escalated as considerable energy has been applied to the criticism of the West and its cultural forms. For a basic treatment of the war of ideas and values see Baldwin, 1980; Baraka, 1969; Bengu, 1976; Betts, 1971; Coard, 1971; Chinweizu, 1975; Cruse, 1967; Diop, 1974, 1978; Fanon, 1965, 1967; Hare, 1969b,c; Karenga, 1982; Kent, 1972; King, 1976; Ladner, 1973; McGee, 1973.

3. Pinkney (1976) points out, "it is quite likely that the oppression of Afro-Americans could not have succeeded to the extent it has in the United States if the educational system had not operated to promote and sustain black subordination" (p. 177). Recent contributions on the political role of Black education included Ogbu (1978), Hayes (1981), Lynch (19878), Carnoy (1974) and Madhubuti (1977).

4. Liberal tradition or liberalism in the United States is basically an accommodationist ideology. See Katznelson and Kesselman (1979). The liberal or accommodative ideology perceives a host of problems and deficiencies in the United States. Dissatisfied with things as they are, liberals seek to improve issues such as poor housing, low wages, unemployment, pollution, poverty, sexual and racial discrimination. By refusing to acknowledge the linkages between all of the problems, liberal ideology accepts the basic structure of inequality. While issues are raised, it is toward the end of facilitating adjustment, not fundamental change. Beneath liberal ideology seems to lie the conviction that the system is basically sound--a few quirks here and there have to be eradicated.

   The advocacy of racial differences as positive or even desirable without the imposition of a color coded hierarchy is foreign to the United States and the Caribbean archipelago. Moreover, the idea of positive racial uniqueness is antithetical to the conceptual framework that shaped the racial thinking of the West. See Frederickson (1971), Gossett (1963), Jordan (1968) and Kovel (1970). When objection to racial discrimination became part of the liberal cache of causes after Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka (1954),

racial differences had to be submerged. Any mention of them, positive or negative, was "taboo."

5. Black people inhabit Africa, New Guinea, parts of Asia and Australia. The extended family of Blacks outside Africa is part of the broader Black human experience. This knowledge is seen as critical for African people who are but part of this total Black experience. See Myers, 1984, p. 4.

6. Myers's (1984) essay in particular is illuminating. See also Cross (1971) and Akbar (1981).

7. While in the United States, it was the "host" country, throughout Africa it was the "colonial host." Felix Eboue', the Black French colonial governor helped organize Black troops who fought across Africa into Europe during "World War" I. These and other Black colonial troops played a significant role in the overthrow of Italy and Germany.

8. De Gobineau and Stoddard were preceded by a host of other European "scholars." A favorite theory attributed to the German physician, Paracelsus and the Italian philosophers, Lucilo Vanini and Giardano Bruno, held that Blacks had a separate origin from the rest of humankind. Though Linnaeus, Montesquieu, Hume and Rousseau believed in the essential unity of the origin of the human species, they still saw the Africans as an aberrant race, described by such stereotypical adjectives as stupid, phlegmatic, indolent, mischievous, etc. Hume thought any attainments by Blacks that were similar to Europeans were mere mimicry. See Biddis (1970) and Davis (1966).

9. Bruns (1971) discusses the eighteenth century European antecedents that moved Anthony Benezet to assert "Negro equality."

10. The Nazis relied upon de Gobineau's views which posited that the "hope of civilization rested on Northern European stock who alone inherited 'an instinct for order,' 'perseverance' and . . .'honor'" (Thomas and Sillen, 1972, p. 24ff.).

11. See Robinson et al. (eds) 1969; Kilson, 1971; Lewis, 1969; Sowell, 1972; and Sessoms, 1983.

12. Within the discipline of African Studies, long dominated by Western "Africanists," a power struggle erupted between Black Afrocentric scholars and the Western "Africanists." The outcome was another organization, the African Heritage Studies Association. See African Heritage Studies Association (1970, pp. 20-24).

13. The push-pull of this assimilation/autonomy dialectic is at the root of the difficult problem of Black unity. Cruse (1967) and Marable (1981) pointed out that assimilation in the United States tended to represent the wishes of the "middle class" and the intellectuals

rather than the masses. Presently in the United States there seems to be a lull in the theoretical struggle on this point. The most controversial treatment recently seems to have been Wilson (1978).

14. Dr. Fard appeared in Detroit in 1930 as a peddler of silks and other artifacts who attracted many people with talk of a lost and found nation ("so-called Negroes" and the true Black Afro-Asiatic religion, Islam.) Elijah Muhammad always credited his teachings to Allah in the person of Fard. Fard mysteriously disappeared in June 1934. See Muhammad (1965), Message to the Blackman, pp. 1-29, esp. 16-17.

15. In the little town of Scottsboro, Alabama in 1931, nine Black males, including two adolescents aged thirteen and fourteen went on trial on the charge of raping two white girls on a freight train in which they all had been riding. Their trial lasted one day, and they were all sentenced to death. Eventually charges were dropped against five of the nine and the other four were retried and convicted in 1936 and 1937. See Blaustein and Zangrando (1968).

16. Curtin (1972) cites Bishop Samula Crowther as an African who so effectively imbibed Western ideas and standards that his accounts of traves through Africa are "more nearly a part of the western reaction to Africa than an ordinary African reaction to new parts of his continent" (p. 232). Another Christian West African, Reverend Philip Quague of the eighteenth century "Gold Coast" was an extreme example. Having lived in England from age 13 to 25, he returned to Africa as a missionary and refused to communicate in his mother tongue without the aid of an interpreter! (Ibid., p. 236).

    The tenacity of skin color and hair politics throughout the United States and the Caribbean evince the degree to which the masses of Blacks accepted Western standards of beauty. Moreover, whites have tended to favor mulattos over darker skinned Blacks. Jusxtaposed in the middle, many mulattos and fairer skinned Blacks who benefit from the present social structure, are not moved to challenge it.

17. The Black Arts Movement emerged during the late 1960s as the artistic corollary of Black Power politics. Smitherman (1977) noted that theater, music and the poetic genre were most affected. Some of the voices of the Black Arts Movement were Amiri Baraka, Ed Bullins, Nikki Giovanni, Sonia Sanchez, Haki Madhubuti, The Last Poets, Maya Angelou, Larry Neal, and Askia Muhammad Toure.

18. Revolutionary Pan-African Nationalism describes the "politics" of many progressive Blacks of the late 1960s with an international focus. They made an ideological connection between the nature of the African struggle in the United States particularly, the Diaspora broadly and the African continent.

19. The researcher acknowledges that there is not widespread agreement on this point. Many septuagenarians and octogenerians in the Black community in the U.S. prefer "colored", with many middle-aged folk retaining "Negro". During the first three decades of the twentieth century the word was not capitalized and its gender corollary was "negress". Moore's(1939) pamphlet presents an emphatic case for the rejection of the term.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

"Methodology refers to the broad perspective from which the researcher views the problem, makes the investigation and draws inferences" (Francis, Bork and Carstens, 1979, p. 31). As this study was concerned with intellectual antecedents of Black Studies articulated in the discourses of Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson, historical research techniques were relied upon to elicit data sources. The procedure called for the data to be interpreted within the context of an Afrocentric conceptual scheme. The articulation of Afrocentrism, particularly in terms of the distinction of "African" as opposed to "Western" concepts and world views, and the politics of world view on research methodology are the foci of this chapter.[1]

Dissertations in education have been prone to an empirical base.[2] Social Science research generally involves the process of making assumptions, constructing models, hypotheses and theories, testing them, and if valid, formulating policies and action strategies. According to Carlson (1971), the agentic context of research is based on separating, ordering, quantifying manipulating and controlling. She suggests the need for increased attention to communal research with its emphasis on naturalistic observation and the personal participation of the investigator (emphasis added).

Campbell (1981) maintains that the human experience is a subjective one and researchers need to develop strategies to help people talk about that subjectivity. Analytic systems are often not the most appropriate method for describing experience. Black Studies is an interdisciplinary form of human studies that offers a holistic model for a multi-dimensional approach to social and historical reality (Hare, 1969; Karenga, 1982; Bryant, 1975). Thus it is relieved of the burden of:

> sacred assumptions about society's righteousness and imperviousness to change and thus it introduces generative ideas which are corrective to social science and which stimulate innovation and deeper inquiry (Apter quoted in Karenga, 1982 p. 32).

Taxel (1980) pointed out that:

> one need not believe that class conflict is the engine of history or that the mode of production determines all culture and politics to recognize the power of Marx's insight that social phenomena can only be comprehended when studies historically and in relation to the larger nexus of relations of which they are a part (p. 2).

The complex nature of Western society in general and racism in particular suggest the paucity of a monolithic approach or method. The preponderant body of research has tended to rest securely on Eurocentric assumptions. Since the nature of assumptions is that they are accepted as valid without being submitted to tests of their validity, the Eurocentric base of social science assumptions is rarely challenged. "Social science takes for granted that the human we seek to understand is a heterosexual, white male" (Long Laws, 1978, quoted in Campbell, 1981, p. 27).

A body of research literature is developing concerning the effect

of gender on bias in research. Acker and Von Houton (1974), Kantor and Millman (1975), MacDonald (1977), and Shakeshaft (1979) have all commented on how the preponderance of male researchers in a male dominated society has limited the selection of research topics. Mother-child interactions are studied extensively, father-child interactions rarely. Labor studies routinely exclude women who toil in the generally unpaid areas of housework and child rearing, because the labor of the full time homemaker is not validated as "work." Just as male concerns determine a significant portion of what is considered important to study, so do white concerns.

The effect of racial bias is seldom discussed in research or by researchers. The myth of scholar/researcher objectivity is a prevalent one that obscures the role of racism. "Since bias prevents reasonable consideration of a question, one who is affected by race or sex bias will have difficulty dealing 'objectively' with questions concerning race and sex" (Campbell, 1981, p. 26). This raises some critical questions concerning the process of social science research since the racist, sexist nature of Western society is well documented.[3] Since research is so often used to legitimize the role of science in strengthening and preserving the racist, sexist status quo, the politics of knowledge and research mitigate against any inquiry purely along gender and color lines.

> If funding is an index of research priorities, research for minorities and women on equity and other issues is less likely to receive funding from either the private or public sector, than are many other, more traditional areas. In general research topics in minority and women's areas have not been high priorities for most professional organizations which publish many of the major social science publications;

> their priorities necessarily influence journal editorial policy and topic selection (Campbell, 1981, p. 12).

Essentially, this results in a de-emphasis and devaluing of these foci (gender and race) in research.

Campbell (1981) argues that racism and sexism affect the selection of research topics through the theories and theoretical constructs that form the basis of so much research. Because global Pan-Africanism inherently challenges the Western racist view of the world, its theoretical bank is notably absent from the conceptual paradigms purporting the explore aspects of the Black experience.[4] The question, "Are Blacks as intelligent as Whites" is frequently asked; (Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1964; Schockley, 1968; Jensen, 1969) the reverse has yet to be. The exclusion of Blacks as objects of thought by educational philosophers can be seen by glancing at the indexes of standard texts. With the possible exceptions of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, Black philosophers of education are overlooked as subjects. This "invisibility" erroneously implies that Blacks are not actors but, at best, acted upon by others.

Afrocentric methodology

Recently, the re-embracing of Africanity by some Black intellectuals generated incisive critiques of the Eurocentric base of Western culture. Nobles (1972), Akbar (1976), Baldwin (1980), Richards (1980), Asante and Vandi (1980), Ben Jochannan (1972) exposed the impotence of Western paradigms in decoding the African personality, world view and experience. Their ideas are critical to the thesis

argued in this study. Central to the research is the issue of Western conceptual control. Some discussion is necessary to delineate what may be properly assigned "Western" and what constitutes "African" concepts.

Dixon (1976) clearly establishes the premise that different world views lead to different research methodologies. Specifically he argues:

> . . . . there are certain philosophical characteristics in any given world view which determine the choice of assumptions in particular, and research methodology in general. Research methodology has world view specificity which results from respective differences in axiology, epistemology and logic (p. 53).

Dixon proceeds to show that the philosophical characteristics of the African and Western world view differ in kind. Though Dixon's observations are admittedly limited by 1) his inattention to the origin, historical development or genetic bases of the two world views, 2) the exclusion of other views and 3) marginal concern with "the appearance of Euro-American philosophical characteristics and not at all with the converse," the resulting analysis is searing. His tables presented below, set forth the characteristics of each world view.

Table 2

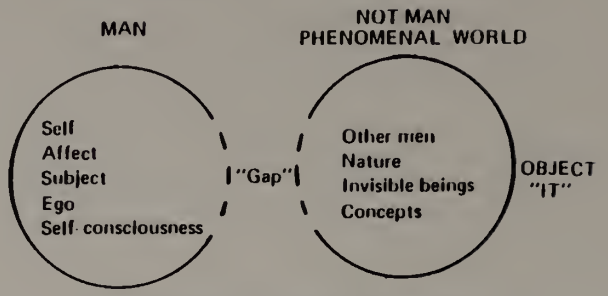
AFRICAN ORIENTED AND EURO AMERICAN ORIENTED PHILOSOPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS

ORIENTATIONS	EURO AMERICAN	AFRICAN
AXIOLOGIES		
Human/Nature Relations	Man to Object (I – IT) Mastery over Nature Individualism	Man to Person (I - Thou) Harmony with Nature Communalism
Time	Future, Divisible Linear Clock	Past-Present, Continuous Felt
Activity	Doing	Being
EPISTEMOLOGY	Object Measure Cognition	Affect Symbolic Imagery
LOGIC	Either-Or	Diunital

From Dixon,"World Views and Research Methodology" in King et al.(1976) pp.56-7

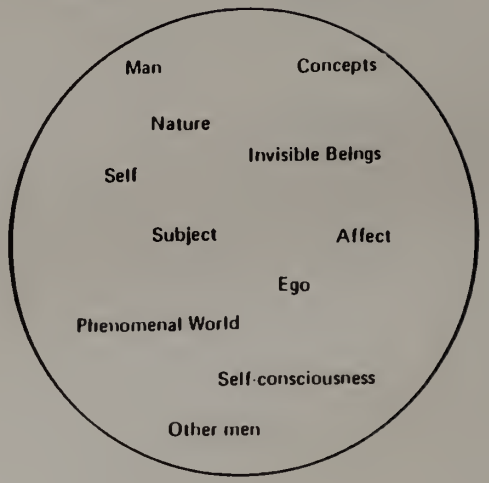
Figure 1

EURO-AMERICAN AXIOLOGICAL WORLD VIEW



AFRICANIZED AXIOLOGICAL WORLD VIEW

MAN ---------- PERSON ("THOU")



What emerges as significant for the discussion presented here is the dichotomy in value orientations. Dixon (1976) asserts that the dominant value orientation in the Western world is the "man-to-object" relationship, while it is the "man-to-person" relationship for homeland and overseas Africans.

In the Western world view, "there is separation between the self and the nonself (phenomenal world)" (Ibid.). The impact of this separation is the objectification of the nonself. "Events or phenomena are treated as external to the self rather than as affected by one's feelings or reflections" (Ibid.). Reality becomes that which is set before the mind to be apprehended, whether it be things external in space or conceptions formed by the mind itself. The distance between the observer and the observed is so great that in this world view, the observer can study and manipulate the observed without being affected by it. The nonself, is therefore rendered an opponent. Dixon quotes Klukhohn and Strodtbeck:

> The Mastery-over-Nature position is the first order (that is, the dominant) orientation of most Americans. Natural forces of all kinds are to be overcome and put to the use of human beings. Rivers everywhere are spanned with bridges; mountains have roads put through and around them; new lakes are built sometimes in the heart of deserts. . . . the belief in man-made medical care for the control of illness and the lengthening of life is strong to an extreme; and all are told early in life that "the Lord helps those who help themselves." The view in general is that it is a part of man's duty to overcome obstacles; hence there is great emphasis upon technology (p. 58).

An offspring of this view is the idea of the individual as the center of social space. The Western concept of group consists of a collection of individuals. This sort of individualism implies that

the individual only participates in a group; s/he is not and does feel of the group. In decision-making Dixon argues, voting, rather than unanimous consensus then prevails.

Time in Western cosmology is also objectified as a series of discrete moments. Its linearity permits it to be utilized, saved, sold, divided and bought. The often repeated phrase, "time is money" attests to this. Corollary to this valuing of time is the high esteem assigned "doing" as the nature of self expression.

> The Doing orientation is so characteristically the dominant one in American society that there is little need for an extensive discussion of it. Its most distinctive feature is a demand for the kind of activity which results in accomplishments that are measurable by standards conceived to be external to the acting individual. . . . . What does the individual do? What can he or will he accomplish? These are almost always the primary questions in the American's scale of appraisal of persons (Kluhkohn and Strodtbeck in Dixon, 1976, p. 17).

In contrast the African world view allows no gap between humans, nature and the supernatural. Further, the self must feel, internalize, experience and personalize the phenomenal world. The pervasiveness of this view throughout the continent, joined by the primacy of religion, kinship and communalism have exploded the once prevailing social science theorem of African cultural heterogeneity. Afrocentric scholars, notably Awoonor (1972), Diop (1978), and Nobles (1978), are complemented by Davidson (1969) and Herskovits (1958) in demonstrating the homogeneity of African culture.

Dixon (1976) further establishes that homeland and overseas Africans with the above value orientation view humans and the phenomenal world as mutually interdependent. Humans are thus

conceived of as being in harmony with nature. Lack of harmony, it is believed, can bring on sickness, drought or social disruption. The individual exists as part of the social order -- whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group and vice versa. Suffering and joy occur in the context of the corporate group which includes kin and neighbors.

The merger of the self with creation causes Africans to respond to the inanimate world with personification. Overseas Africans in the United States commonly reflect this in their speech: "that record is saying something," "that sound is bad" or "you put the hurt on me." On the continent, the corollary is the common view of all things possessing the life force.

Nobles (1972) and Jackson (1982) have also discussed the African orientation to time. Criner (1976) points out that it is the nature of the organism to construct a world view which is consistent with its behavior. Using music as an example, Criner points out that while all humans dance, the nature of the dance is intimately related to how time is perceived. The multidimensional nature of the concept of time is evident in the variation of rhythms as one moves south to north. "The polyrhythmic nature of African drumming defies representation in the metric of European music" (Ibid., p. 134).

Mbiti (1969) observed that time is "simply a composition of events which have occurred, those which are taking place now and those which are immediately to occur" (p. 108). Since time has to be experienced in order to become real, the long range Future is not. Dixon (1976) observes:

> Since Africanized time orientation is governed by the dimensions of Past and Present, the drive for investment of the Future-oriented Euro-American times becomes substantially less important (pp. 64-65).

The overseas African habit of "C.P. time"[5] illustrates that time-scheduled, pre-planned activities do not take precedence over responses to immediate experiences. When the phenomenal world is inseparable from the self, felt time rules the day, not clock time.

The last major point of dissidence in the contrasting world views is the African mode of self-expression labelled by Dixon as "Being". Valued here is the spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be "given" in the human personality. More than an expression of desires and impulses, it is also how well personality unites with phenomena or how well the affectiveness self feels phenomena. Sensitivities are primarily affiliation oriented. The Black folk culture sums it up: "It's not whether you get down; it's how low you go." The illustration offered is that value placed for example, on how well O.J. Simpson "danced" on the field rather than how many touchdowns he scored.

In summary, the argument that Africa and the West developed separate ontological systems has several implications. First, since Africa and the West are competing political entities, it betrays an ideological competition as well. What the West has sought to portray as "universal" in fact -- only replicates one world view. The West's repeated insistence on "neutral, universal" facts by Western academicians and scientists in light of the above betrays the politics of knowledge. Second, the non-Western intellectual of color is conceptually incarcerated as long as the key assumptions held concerning

humankind or "man," "progress" "development" etc., remain Eurocentric. The African intellectual in particular, is limited to what s/he can know about herself/himself and by what s/he does know. Yet critical knowledge, knowledge of self, is essential to the African conception of reality. Trained, "educated" and indoctrinated into a belief and acceptance of the Western conception of reality (usually as the only one), the Black intellectual is ill-equipped to assist the liberation of the African conceptual schema into the world market of ideas (Nobles, 1976, p. 164).

Congruently, Richards's (1980) critique of progress emanates from the methodological framework suggested here. The content is equally central to the analysis of this study. Richards argues that if Black Studies is to be viable, demystification is a necessary primary task. She then proceeds to level a cornerstone in Western life and philosophy -- the idea of "progress." Progress is seen as a "directive of Western behavior, or determinant of attitude, a device whereby Western Europeans judge and impose their judgments on others" (Ibid., p. 62). As such, it is raised to the level of methodological commitment, "an integral part of the meaning of existence for people" (Ibid.) with rationalism, its referent. It easily becomes an ideology of imperialism toward others and of the oppressive technical ordering of society internally. Since "progress" is promulgated as a universal, inevitable statement of human value and motivation, it combines with other major myths to yield the functions represented in Richards's following table:

Table 3 European Mythology (Implications for the African heritage)

Ideology	The Cultural Other	Behavior Dictated	White Self-Image
Christianism	heathen: non-religious, immoral	saved	Christian Saviour
Idea of Progress	backward	developed, advanced	"modern" man
Evolutionism	primitive	civilized	"civilized" man

MUST BE

The asymptotic mode of progress ("One never reaches 'progress,' one makes progress, and in the Western view, there is always more of it to be made") with its ultimate mode of non-attainment contrasts sharply with the African world view. The Western idea of "progress" presumes ceaseless problems, tension, disharmony and imbalance. The assumption therefore that progress implies optimism (bigger and better as a theory of history) comes into question. Moreover, the idea of progress operates as a white self-image booster, since the West requires an inferior to which it can be superior.

> They believe and are able to make others believe that since they represent the most progressive force at any given moment, they are the most human and therefore 'best'. . . . The Western-European ethos requires a self-image not merely of superiority but of supremacy and the idea of progress makes white people supreme among human beings. It is superiority placed into the dimension of lineal time and then the logic of lineal time placed into a timeless direction. Without the idea and this conceptual sleight of hand, cultures would merely be different; Western culture would merely be intensely and obsessively rational. . . . With the assumption of the idea of progress, the West becomes 'better' (Richards, 1980, emphasis added).

Hence, the Black intellectual is faced with what Nobles (1972) calls "a meta-empistemological dilemma" (p. 164).

> . . . he seeks an awareness of reality or knowledge, though the parameters of the definition of that knowledge are defined according to Western conceptions of reality, which are, in themselves, distorted (Ibid.).

Recognizing this, the African researcher is charged with the responsibility of developing and using an Afrocentric research methodology. This methodology is consonant with the African world view described above, involving assumptions and models which reflect the values of Man-to-Person, Harmony with Nature, Communalism, Felt Time and Being. Further, in a holistic context a single event or behavior

can only be understood in terms of its interconnection and interaction with other aspects. Practically this means that we may speak heuristically of separate parts -- History, Economics, Anthropology etc. but these categories merge. As a consequence, the context of assumptions and models include factors which transcend Western academic disciplinary lines and may even be subjective (Dixon, 1976 emphasis added).

Consonant with the African world view, useful evidence is not limited to the quantitative. Dixon (1976) cites Weiskopf (1971):

> Modern scientific and technological knowledge, with its alleged value -- neutrality, overstresses detachment and therefore by negating intuition and tacit knowledge fails to unite the knower with the known (Ibid., p. 21).

The method of verification offered by Dixon involves "the synthesis of the feeling self with evidence in the form of words, gestures, things, forces, numbers etc". Thus the researcher becomes an involved, participant observer. S/he becomes part of the lives of the people while simultaneously seeking to understand the forces shaping and evoking responses from them.

Dixon (1976) posits four guidelines for authentic Afrocentric research methodology, with the important provision that they also provide benchmarks for the evaluation of Western societies. They are:

1. The researcher must be a full participant observer in the Black community.

2. Assumptions and models in content must incorporate the values of the African-oriented world view-dynamic, circular, collective, situational etc.

3. Assumptions and models, in form, must be Diunital. They are mutually inclusive rather than mutually exclusive.

4. Verification or testing procedures must use Object-Measure cognition. They must incorporate the

> criteria of collective Black metaphor. Affect must unite with numerical measures.

Ben Jochannan (1974) noted that "it is the interpretation of history which makes the difference between what is 'right' or 'wrong', 'godly' or 'ungodly', 'moral' or 'immoral'" (p. 74). Significantly, "Negroes" have no history before they were created by the Portuguese around the fifteenth century, he maintains. This obscures the fact that the Carthaginians, Moors, Ethiopians, Ghanaians etc. were these same Africans, misnomered "Negroes". Western "Africanists" in Ben Jochannan's views (1972) are responsible for knowing the truth but deliberately ignoring and refusing to publish facts of African history that upset their racial philosophy. Worse, he lamented:

> Most of the books being used in Black Studies still are not written by Blacks. In other words, we still look to other people in our Black Studies courses for material about ourselves, and they still, to my regret are considered the major authorities (p. 69).

Ben Jochannan (1974) outlines a six point approach for Afrocentric scholars, specifically engaged in historical analysis:

1. Cultivating the African frame of reference
2. Learning both European and African languages
3. Pursue leads in traditional (Oral) and written historical knowledge
4. Building a personal library of books and manuscripts primarily by African authors
5. Constantly asking "for whom and for what purposes does my work about Mother Alkebulan (Africa) and her children serve?"
6. Steadfastness to integrity as an African person

Bryant (1970) argues that the legitimacy of a particular disci-

pline has been linked with the concept of methodology. For him, Black Studies methodology is based on:

1) the study and intensity of the degree of Africanism
2) interdisciplinary studies
3) creation of an hypothesis or hypothetical situations
4) the use of the novel as a data source

Bryant then attempts to show how important methodology in Western history, politics and economics has been in destroying a nation (Blacks) rather than serving the needs of humanity. Historical methodology in particular is singled out as a servant of imperialism and racism. Bryant alleges that "established" historians such as U.B. Phillips, Frank Burgess, Hubert H. Bancroft and Albert Bushnell Hart used the methodology of;

1) total silence on positive aspects concerning Blacks
2) nostalgia
3) inadequate and superficial research methods
4) greatly illuminating and magnifying incidents of a non-positive nature where Blacks are concerned
5) deliberate falsehood

"The objective of white historians was to subordinate and virtually re-enslave a whole race of people by the shaping and molding of white ideology toward Blacks" (Ibid.,p. 40). Bryant is joined by many authors (Ben Jochannan, 1982; Du Bois, 1935; Woodson, 1933; Williams, 1972) who agree. So intense was this all-out effort that Carter G. Woodson, who for years had been chafing at the misconceptions and falsities about Blacks, particularly in U.S. textbooks, decided to throw his full weight of knowledge against it (Bryant, 1975).

The methodology employed in this study attempts to recreate the best in Afrocentric scholarship modeled in the works of Baldwin (1976, 1980) Asante and Vandi (1980), Blyden (1857, 1905, 1967, 1969), Madhubuti (1979), and Richards (1980). Accordingly, the usual distance between the knower and the known so revered in Eurocentric scholarship is abridged. The attempt to provide a "balanced," dual perspective discussion articulating the pros and cons of each is seen as secondary to the socially corrective mission of Black Studies posited by Hare (1968) and Karenga (1982).

Appendix B offers the reader a detailed discussion of Pan-Africanism from a progressive, Afrocentric perspective. The value of that discussion is premium; it is at once a descriptive and political analysis. Within the context of the paradigm advanced by Nyang and Vandi, (1980) the researcher's analysis is resolutely global Pan-Africanist.

Acknowledgment should be made of the fact that Black Studies scholars have not been the sole warriors in the struggle against the supremacy of quantitative research/methodology. Bredo and Feinberg (1982) point out that the last two decades witnessed a plethora of questions concerning methodological foundations of educational research and the social sciences generally. Advocates of qualitative, interpretive approaches started the upheaval during the 1960s. By the 1970s critics of the mathematical/experimental paradigm questioned not only the dominant substantive theoretical orientation (i.e., structural functionalism) but the positivist theory of knowledge that went along with it. The critics argued that the definition of know-

ledge only in "objective" terms did not lessen the researcher's social responsibility.

> The researcher is inevitably an agent of change or a reinforcer of the status quo. This is because the very concep- tual and methodological framework within which the research is conducted allows certain things to be questioned while it places others outside the bounds of legitimate discourse. Thus, the research serves to legitimize certain kinds of questions or policies and to delegitimize others (Ibid., p. 6).

Critical theorists, Bredo and Feinberg (1982) note, recognize that facts are themselves theory-laden, in that they are relative to the particular symbol scheme applied. By not acknowledging the way in which facts change with viewpoint or world view, the positivist's assumption of theory independence of facts implicitly takes one view as the only legitimate one. Further they argue, to claim that one's knowledge is value free is in fact, to begin to distort it. "Know-ledge can never be disinterested, however rigorously one follows methodological canons" (Ibid., p. 276).

Limitations of methodology

The methodology employed in this study is consciously limited to the exposition of a global Pan-Africanist perspective. This conceptual framework is especially discordant with the troublesome baggage historical research is laden with. There are no proven successful ways around the difficulties posed by the identification and acquisition of suitable data, testing the data for reliability or probability and the rapidly changing interpretive vistas.

Narrative sources continue to be the most relied upon in the study

of history. Many of these narrative accounts were consciously intended to inform readers of events and personality. The majority of primary data sources for the years 1850-1933 are inundated with racial prejudice; the actual reconstruction of events is inhibited by this stain. As Block (1962) put it, "the path of historical research of times intersects the royal highway of the theory of probabilities" because "with ink, anyone can write anything." When possible, the non-deliberate source has been sought and included. The advantage of these sources is not that they are free from distortion but at least, where they exist, they have not been specifically designed to deceive posterity.

Though the researcher believes use can be made of various milieu and artifacts, the chief avenues relied upon in this study were print, visual and oral sources of a secondary nature. Accuracy was not comprimised, but the emphasis here was an Afrocentric interpretation.

Organization and Design of the Study

The research questions that have been identified for this study are:

1) What institutional arrangements facilitated the entrenchment of the Western monopoly of ideas and critical knowledge?

2) How did Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson critique Western control of the interpretation of Black history and the Black experience?

3) With respect to higher education, what were the implications concerning the scope, direction and control of Black education?

The literature reviewed dealt with the ascendance of the Western nations as imperial entities and their reliance on racial theories to facilitate exploitation. The use in particular of science and history to buttress racism was attended to. The school as a conductor of widespread popular education, participated extensively in the "acculturation" of African people, thus rendering it a political tool. Emphasis was given the specific role of higher education in the assimilation of Blacks, focussing in on the racial identity problems of the "educated."

The literature review attends to the literature on psychological dependence and Africanity or the African personality, interpreted here as psychological independence. Emanating from this broader spectrum are the particular works of Edward Blyden, Joseph E. Casely-Hayford and Carter G. Woodson, which form the nucleus of the dissertation. Following the rather extensive literature review is a discussion of the findings. The methodological concern is:

1) Identifying the nature of Western culture and its cultural imperialistic expression.

2) Accentuating Africanity or psychological/cultural independence from the Western imposed "norms".

3) Connecting the historical struggle for psychological/cultural independence with the ideological tensions Blacks Studies face today.

Notes

1. In the interest of overall clarity, it was necessary to deviate from the commonly accepted style format of engaging in methodological considerations after the literature review.

2. A computer search of the social sciences citations database in late April 1984 indicated that of approximately 30,000 entries for education, just under 10% involved studies of educational history, or other non-empirical methodologies.

3. The attention due the role of sexism in Western society is outside the parameters of this discussion. Moreover with respect to African people this study posits a "race first" analysis. Materials reviewed that treat the role of sexism included Acker and Von Houten, 1974; Kearney, 1979; Campbell, 1981; and Long Laws 1978. Campbell's article is insightful for readers considering an overview of the issue; Long Laws's analysis is tight and specifically concerns gender.

4. The African struggle in the United States for freedom and self-determination consists of two major tendencies. Marable (1983, pp. 93-121) argues that the intellectuals and middle classes have historically clung to assimilation/integration while the chief impulse among the masses of Black people has been nationalism/separatism. Pan-Africanism is congruent with nationalism/separatism and tends to alienate Blacks intent on "making it" in this culture. When Black Studies was forced on the Academy, some of its most vehement critics were often Black intellectuals and politicians rigidly entrenched in the imitation of the dominant culture. Part of the struggle for Black Studies involved a struggle for definitional control. At Harvard University for example, some faculty and administrators contended that continental African studies did not inform Black Studies sufficiently to be housed under the same departmental umbrella. These factors and others have combined to produce an atmosphere disinclined to take seriously any theoretical applications of Pan-African thought. See also Fuller (1974), Hayes (1981), and Ben Jochannan (1975).

5. "C.P." time refers to the Diasporan African habit of late arrival, or movement by other than "clock time." Dixon (1976) referred to it as "felt time." The researcher has observed "C.P." time in West Africa, and has been advised that it seems alive and well in the Anglo-Caribbean as well.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction to the Literature Review

This study's central impulse is the articulation of historically controversial ideological issues inherent in Black Studies. The focus of the entire literature review is to establish a theoretical climate rather than a probing excavation of all literature in a given area. Part one begins with a cursory examination of events and processes contributing to the West's obsession with the denial of Black history and its debasement of Black humanity. The evaluation of racism as a concept and its role in obscuring Africa as part of the human family is discussed. The complicity of the Academy in perpetuating racism, notably by physical and social scientists, is explored.

There is considerable agreement in the literature that the school functions as a political institution. As the "institutionalization of the principle means by which societies insure self-preservation and cultural continuity" (Lincoln, 1978, p. 14) part two develops how the schools in both colonial and contemporary society, functions as a vehicle of cultural imperialism. The pivotal role of white racism, particularly in the U.S. is central to the discussion of Western schooling. The specific role of higher education in the assimilation of Blacks is examined in part three with emphasis given the racial

identity problems of the "well-educated" elite in West Africa, the Anglophone Caribbean and the United States.

Nuclear to the study's primary questions is the literature involving psychological dependence and Africanity, or the African personality.

A short introduction is provided for which part four singles out three exceptional individuals who dissented with the views of the integrationist/assimilationist elite. It is subdivided into three sections which discuss Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson respectively. Presented are brief biographical sketches and representative statements which portray their respective critiques of Western education and prescriptions for solution.

Part five serves to wrap up and summarize the ideas presented in the entire literature review.

I. The Debasement of Black Humanity

> Ah, the dear black dirty scamps of negroes, big and little, on one of the old anti-revolutionary plantations! They acknowledge loving necessities as the flies do; are as free in their intimacies as the frogs of Egypt; will blacken the very sunshine upon your walls with the pressure of their affections; and carry real, genuine hearts, full of sympathy for all the family, in spite of their rarely washed visages which revolt instinctively at the unnatural application of soap and water to a skin that greatly prefers friction with oil and sunshine (Wm. Gilmore Simms, Eutaw quoted in Tracy, p. 400).

The insistence by Black students in the U.S. during the late 1960's on the inclusion and reevaluation of Black history in the Academy ignited the Black Studies movement. The struggle conspicuously addressed issues which had been fermenting in the Black community.

Phrased differently at different times, the central tensions facing Blacks in the U.S. culminated in one overarching question. Frederick Douglass posed it:

> The question is: Can the white and colored people of this country be blended into a common nationality, and enjoy together, in the same country, under the same flag, the inestimable blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as neighborly citizens of a common country? (Douglass in Brotz, 1966 p. 1).

This section of the literature review deals with an examination of materials in an attempt to answer research question one: How was the Western monopoly of ideas and critical knowledge established? The researcher's implied hypothesis is that the West's denial of Black history facilitated the debasement of Black humanity and justified the slave trade.

Genesis of the west: the TransAtlantic trade

The Age of Enlightenment, the TransAtlantic Slave Trade and the Industrial Revolution combined to produce the Euro-American hybrid, commonly referred to as the West. (Chinweizu, 1975; Rodney, 1972; Kovel, 1970) The unification of diverse ethnic groups into enduring, national political entities made Europe a real power. The non-separation of Church and State catapulted an already elite clergy into formal government. The Christian Church no longer functioned as a dispensary of salvation alone but its almost singular access to Gutenberg's invention empowered them also to act as information brokers. The precedent for the clergy's determination of what the masses should know was institutionalized at Trent (1546) when portions

of the Bible were deleted, and an official version arrived at. That the Church/State should exercise central authority over ideas ("the earth is flat and the center of the Universe") was as acceptable as their jurisdiction over armies.

The need for national treasuries (gold) prompted the funding of adventurist/merchant types like Columbus. The "discovery" by Europe of fertile lands easily subdued by European weaponry triggered the scramble to the "New World" for economic supremacy via colonialism. The TransAtlantic slave trade and Europe's Industrial Revolution were symbiotically linked (Chinweizu, 1975; Du Bois, 1946; Rodney, 1972; Williams, 1961).

The problem of a cheap labor supply was solved with the realization that some African societies were willing to export rather than absorb their excess population; the indigent, captives of war and exiles, usually held in some sort of bonded relationship were sold in exchange for items of mediocre value to Europeans. The use of Africans eliminated the need for the more difficult to manage system of indentures.

Significantly, the blackness of Africans facilitated the equation of slavery with racial heritage. Further, the Church's view of Africans as "heathens" qualified them for slavery because "Christian" slaveholders would expose them to "civilization" and "salvation" (Ajayi, 1965). From the beginning however, there were rumblings within the clergy about the ethics of the "human traffic". Bartolomeo de las Casas, a priest who witnessed the wholesale genocide of native peoples in the "West Indies" eventually was struck by the brutality of "Indian"

enslavement. He petitioned for mercy on their behalf, and instead suggested Africans, who were considered a hardier breed. In 1610 another priest, Father Sandoval wrote a church official in Europe wanting to know if the capture (kidnap), transport and enslavement of Africans was "legal" by church doctrine. The response indicated that the matter had already been discussed by a Church Board of Conscience in Lisbon, a prestigious body of learned and conscientious men. The response Father Sandoval received was "never did they consider the trade as illicit" (Zinn, 1980 p. 29).

The Dutch, then the English dominated the TransAtlantic slave trade. Its impact on industry was staggering. Williams (1961) identifies ship building, textiles, banking and insurance as major industries spurred by the trade. As early as 1637, the first "American" (sic) slave ship, Desire, sailed from Marblehead, Massachusetts. By 1795 Liverpool had more than 100 ships carrying slaves and accounted for half of all the European slave trade (Zinn, 198 p. 35).

Psychologically and physically oppressive at the same time, the TransAtlantic slave trade was an intricate and powerful system of control (Bennett, 1966; Curtin, 1969; Franklin, 1948; Rodney, 1972; Williams, 1961; Zinn, 1980). The slaves were taught "discipline", inferiority, hatred of blackness and Africa, and to be awed by the power of the "owner". Any sense of self was to be destroyed by the complete merger of their interests with those of the "owners". The slaveholders made use of every device that social orders employ for keeping power and wealth intact. To achieve this, there was the steady routine of harsh, relentless labor; the decimation of the African

family network and the destruction of the chief aspect of African social organization--communalism, by a micro class system of differentiated "field" and "house niggers". This was held in place by a legalized system of brutality unparalleled in known history (Zinn, p. 35).

Of parallel importance was the psychological world the slaveholders constructed to soothe the conscience of whites and maintain the mental cauterization of African peoples. No avenue was bypassed by slaveholders in the effort to reduce Africans to "Negroes". The chief architects of social thought and moral approbation, the clergy and the academicians provided this service.

Images of blacks

There is evidence however that a negative bias toward the color black prevailed in parts of Europe prior to the TransAtlantic trade. Jordan (1968) states:

> In England, perhaps more than in southern Europe, the concept of blackness was loaded with intense meaning . . . . no color except white conveyed so much emotional impact . . . . the meaning of black before the sixteenth century included 'deeply stained with dirt' - having dark or deadly purposes; pertaining to or involving death. . . . disastrous, sinister. . . . foul, wicked, indicating disgrace, liability to punishment, the handmaid and symbol of baseness and evil, a sign of danger and repulsion, virtue and baseness, beauty and ugliness, beneficence and evil, God and the devil (p. 7).

Taharka (1979) suggests that these interlocking patterns of negative thought about people with black skins degenerated into race science "which included among its exponents some of the most respected names in the natural and social sciences, the humanities and the arts" (p. 30).

Indeed, Taharka provides a host of references which locate Black antipathy to the Greeks, who are considered a determinative influence in Western thought.

> Starting with a folkloric bias against the geographic location of the land of the Blacks, followed by a physical aversion toward black human beings and a repellant aesthetic reaction to their way of life, European civilization eventually developed an ideational and even a linguistic antagonism to the concept 'black'. Using Teutonic standards of beauty as a measuring rod Africans were termed'hideous', 'frightfully ugly', and 'akin to gorillas' (p. 36).

Henriques' (1975) study of "interracial sex and marriage" aptly develops the European image of Blacks in his second chapter. He likens the modern West to the ancient Greco-Roman world in that both dominated external societies through its political and technological prowess. Domination in both instances produced a perception of differences between the dominating and those dominated. The critical distinction was that racial origins in the ancient world were subordinate to individual behavior.

The Romans viewed everyone outside Italy, except the Greeks, as barbarians. They were obsessed with physique, appearance and stature but believed structural flaws could be overcome by Roman assimilation. This technique, resurrected centuries later, as the modus operandi of French colonialism, held that if the barbarians renounced their way of life and acknowledged the superiority of Rome, they could share in the Roman bounty. Henriques (1975) maintains that "prejudice in fact stopped at the point where the person against whom it was directed adopted the way of life of those that despised him" (p. 9).

The Anglo-Saxon reaction to people of color in the sixteenth

century was based more on literary sources than on reality. Dramatic works of the age depict the African or Moor as savage and lustful and compared him with the lion-hearted, noble, white European. By the eighteenth century crystallization of stereotypes occured and racism reached new heights during the nineteenth century. Count Arthur de Gobineau and Robert Knox are credited with laying the foundations of contemporary racist thought, while Thomas Houston Chamberlain is said to have inspired Hitler with fervent belief in the purity and destiny of the so-called Aryan race. Henriques (1975) points out that the complicity of nineteenth century academicians in denigrating and misinterpreting racial distinctions set the stage for a newer brand of racism based on what purported to be "scientific" evidence. The "noble savage" was quietly laid to rest as "intelligence" became the touchstone for demonstrating the inferiority of people of color. Throughout the work, Henriques skillfully explores aspects of interracial sexuality. Slavery subjected African women to unrestricted sexual brutality while the African male's inability to protect them was ironclad. Yet it was the notion of the rape of white women which was the pivot of many fantasies which persist to this day.

Myths concerning the size of African penis and the corollary that this connoted exceptional virility were popular in the U.S. South. Again, scientific support was mustered chiefly by reports of anthropologists.

Biological confirmation notwithstanding, the psychological confirmation was real. Hernton (1965), Stember (1976), and Rogers (1940) have all addressed the thorny problem of Black/White sexuality.

Stember (1976) surmised:

> . . . . the institutionalized inequality of the society provides the structure on which hostility, the emotional dimension of attitudes is based. It is this social structure that converts sexual desire in the black man into obsession for the white woman and sexual excitement in the white man into anger and violence toward the blacks (p.195).

Tracy's (1983) exceptional work is a searing analysis of race, gender and class in antebellum Southern literature. The novel is the medium used to reconstruct the salient images of Blacks, women, and poor whites during the nineteenth century. Not surprisingly the

> focus of the antebellum Southern plantation or domestic novel is the master and the white family and not the slave and the black family. What matters then is not the relationships of slaves to the master, but the relationship of individual slaves to the master (p. 364).

The institution of slavery in post-1830's proslavery fiction is depicted as a beneficial protection of Blacks which "civilizes" them via Christianity and the discipline of hard work. An important implication in this body of literature is that Blacks possess neither the self-discipline, intelligence or morality to ever become landowners and farmers. Tracy points out that the authors effect the "creation of a proslavery literature without slavery". The hero is the planter class male, patriarchal protector of his white and Black families, who are well-adjusted members of the plantation household. House slaves are found in the literature; field slaves are seldom depicted. Rather the impression is created of Blacks as lazy, happy children who in adulthood and merely bigger, and older, but still childlike. One writer quoted by Tracy commented, "Slaves are perpetual children. Therefore the tendency of Slavery is rather to humanize than brutalize" (p. 384). The primary relationship in

the slave's life, according to the majority of authors Tracy studied, was the master - slave dyad. Conveniently, the scenario is enacted in a male theater; slave women appear only as "mammies" and the role of the white plantation mistress is avoided entirely. Tracy suggests that this deliberately omitted potentially embarrassing issues and underscored "their patriarchal vision of the social order."

> Paternalistic ideology, then, informs the production of Southern literature as Southern writers create "good" female, black and poor white characters who recognize the innate superiority of the planter and defer to him, and "bad" female, black and poor white characters who defy planter authority (p. 388).

Tracy argues that it is not surprising that the planters and their intellectual allies would portray themselves this way; what is noteworthy is the support given their world view by professional historians.

Ulrich B. Phillips, Stanley Elkin and Kenneth Stampp were major contributors to the historiography of slavery, yet Tracy adeptly shows flaws in their conceptual frameworks. The most valuable criticism is levelled at Eugene Genovese, a Marxist historian. Tracy presents striking similarities in the images of master and slave held by Genovese, the planter class, and Ulrich B. Phillips' writings.

Though racism had some roots in the biological "Chain of Being" thinking in the eighteenth century, it emerged as a major current in Western thought during the nineteenth (Clarke, 1970; Kovel, 1979). Montague (1952) states:

> Questions concerning the variety of mankind occurred to few thinkers during the seventeenth century. This was not because the known varieties of man were so few that they suggested no problem requiring solution, but principally it would seem because the conception of the 'superiority' or 'inferiority' of 'races' which followed upon the increasing exploitation of other peoples had not developed to the point of creating a

> 'race problem' and of thus focusing attention upon the significance of the variety presented by mankind. It was not until the economic relations of Europe and the people of other remote countries had given rise to the necessity of defining their place in nature that attempts were made to deal with this problem (Ibid. pp. 19-20; emphasis added).

This view of the economic imperative for racial subordination is also held by DuBois (1946), Marable (1981, 1983), Williams (1961), Rodney (1972), and Zinn (1980).

In the U.S., the dominant work on racial origins popular in the first half of the nineteeth century had originally been published in 1787. Like other eighteenth century advocates of the unity of the human species, Samuel Stanhope Smith's Essay on the Cause of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species was committed to monogenesis. This suggested that the white race was the original human norm, superior to the others which had degenerated from it (Fredrickson, 1971). It was suggested that by ceasing to be 'negro'(sic), the 'negro' could become equal to whites.[1] It became necessary however to break up the belief in the original unity of human family via common ancestry and though it was risky to contradict the Church (the Adam and Eve mythology), the case for polygenesis, emerged.

Polygenesis, which posited the separate creation of the races, did not become popular among the scientific and intellectual circles until the mid nineteenth century. Concomitantly, the "American" school of ethnology established its presence. They proclaimed to have new data that affirmed the separate and distinct creation of the races. Though this was a debate confined no doubt to a select few, its significance managed to impact upon the larger question of the "negro" and his

relation to Southern social ideals (Ibid., p. 84).

Science at the service of racism

Nott, Morton, Gliddon and later Agassiz[2] entered the discussion as scientists and respected members of the learned community. They threw the full weight of their credentials and research into proslavery support. Though Nott privately acknowledged that his views were never intended for the mass,[3] the theory was applauded and promulgated in two of the most important journals of Southern opinion, De Bow's Review and the Southern Quarterly Review.

Argued "scientifically", the writings of these proslavery, "objective" servants of "pure" knowledge were accessible directly to only a miniscule group of highly educated Southerners. The basic idea though was seized upon and disseminated throughout the popular periodicals and reinforced in Southern literature.

Thomas and Sillen (1972) in Racism And Psychiatry pointed out that in its long and ugly history in the U.S., white racism has improvised myriad variations on two basic themes. The first posits that Blacks are born inferior with brains that have a limited capacity for mental growth. Second is that personality tends to be abnormal, whether by nature or by nurture. Thomas and Sillen argue that these concepts of inferiority and pathology are interrelated and reinforce each other. Both have served to sanctify a hierarchical social order in which "the Negro's place" (sic) is forever ordained genetically and by "the accumulated disabilities of his past."

Racism and Psychiatry ably discusses the use of mental health treat-

ment, statistics and scientific research in the antebellum South. During that period, mental health for Africans was equated with contentment with slavery, while protest was an infallible symptom of derangement. The "crazy nigger" is a surviving image in African/U.S. community today.[4] A well-known physician of the period, Dr.Sam Cartwright of Louisiana developed a psychiatric explanation for "deranged", runaway slaves. He diagnosed their malady as drapetomania, literally "flight from home madness" which he contended was "as much a disease of the mind as any other species of mental alienation" (Ibid). Another ailment peculiar to Africans was dyaesthesia Aethiopica, sometimes referred to as "rascality" by overseers.

Epidemiology was long ago manipulated to support slavery. The deliberate use of statistics to provide a scientific facade for dehumanizing Blacks was pioneered in the nineteenth century. Figures in the 1840 census (later proven fabricated) were used to prove that Blacks living under "unnatural" conditions of "freedom" in the North were more prone to insanity (Ibid). The 1840 census showed that insanity and idiocy 'among negroes' was eleven times higher in the North than South. This led John C. Calhoun to conclude the necessity of slavery. "The African is incapable of self-care and sinks into lunacy under the burden of freedom. It (slavery) is a mercy."

Slavery as a normal, advantageous condition of existence for Africans was continually reinforced by science pressed into the service of racism. The African, it was repeatedly claimed, was uniquely fit for slavery by his primitive psychological organization, due to "insensibility of nerves and reletude of mind" (Ibid.). Whereas psychologically normal Blacks were

"faithful and happy-go-lucky", the mentally afflicted ones "pay no attention to the rights of property, slight their work, raise disturbances etc" (Stampp, 1956 cited in Thomas & Sillen, 1972). Africans continually resisted the Western conception of African humanity. When the 1840 census fabrication was exposed "free" Africans called a mass meeting in New York and petitioned the Senate to revise the figures. A Black physician, James McCune Smith countered, "Freedom has not made us mad, it has strengthened our minds by throwing us upon our own responses" (Ibid.). The prevailing theory was that physical decline was a corollary to mental illness and the results of the falsified census perpetuated the conscience-soother that Africans flourished under slavery.

The rationale for scientific racism rested firmly on presumed racial differences in anatomy and physiology. Variations were not limited to complexion or facial features but alleged organic disparities from body odor to speed of nerve conduction. Influential medical journals presented the crudest fantasies as verifiable facts. One Georgia physician claimed that the peculiarities in the disease of "negroes" (sic) were so distinctive that only Southern doctors could treat them. As recently as 1905, G. Stanly Hall, a prominent psychologist, declared that differential medical treatment of the races was as necessary as the application of veterinary medicine for horses is distinct from that applied to oxen (Ibid.).

The size of the African brain, generally smaller than that of the European counterpart, was portrayed as less developed. This purported difference was cited as the physical basis for the psychological gulf between the races. So widespread was this belief in Black brain

inferiority among physicians and social scientists that it continued virtually undisturbed into this century.

Constitutional differences interpreted as signs of inferiority were easily congruent with the related nineteenth century view that psychological characteristics in general were determined by inheritance (the belief that criminality emanated from a "bad seed"). Emphasis on biological differences is a recurrent theme in Western academic circles. Despite the refutation of the racial "inferior brain" thesis by anthropologists and others, notably Franz Boas, the myth is resilient. It reappears in new forms and continually requires refutation. Presently, Drs. Schockley and Jensen attest to this.[5]

Thomas and Sillen (1972) identify another major tenet of "scientific racism". Based on a superficial reading of Darwin, this view held that human groups exist in variety at different stages of biological evolution. The "higher" races are those that developed over a longer period of time. Preoccupation with this notion has died down since Leakey's findings in Olduvai Gorge in Africa. Nevertheless perception of races as 'higher' and 'lower' permeated much of Western thought around the turn of the century. Its direct expression was immortalized by the "white man's burden" ideology. Advanced by Rudyard Kipling and his fellow imperialists, non-Europeans were "lesser breeds" who were "half-devil, half-child."

The view of Africans in particular as children, fed egos which at best, could behave in paternalistic ways. Perhaps more important, the equation of child-like and innocent with certain behaviors suppressed and denied in Eurocentric culture (sexuality, elimination functions) enabled

Europeans to recognize affective, emotional gestures. The revered European psychologist, Carl Gustav Jung found that African 'primitiveness' had "infected" Western behavior in everything from the swaying of hips to the inimitable Teddy Roosevelt's laugh (Thomas and Sillen, 1972, p. 14). Jung explained at the second Psychoanalytic Congress in 1910:

> The causes for repression can be found in the specific American complex, namely to the living together with the 'lower races' especially Negroes. Living together with barbaric races exerts a suggestive effect on the laboriously tamed instinct and tends to pull it down (Ibid.).

Fredrickson's volume, The Black Image in the White Mind, (1971) highlights "the tragic limitation of the white racial imagination of the nineteenth century, namely its characteristic inability to visualize and egalitarian biracial society" (p. xiii). The heritage of freedom passed on by the Founding Fathers of the U.S. presumed the inferiority of Blacks. The reference to Blacks in the basic political document as "3/5 of all others" evinces the inability to accept Black humanity. Thomas Jefferson is quoted as saying:

> I advance it therefore as a suspicion only that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to whites both in body and mind. (Ibid., p. 1)

Heathens with no history

Proslavery theorists relied heavily upon the "historical case against the Black man based on his supposed failure to develop a civilized way of life in Africa" (Ibid). While Fredrickson (1971) acknowledged that proslavery writings focused on Africa as a den of iniquity complete with devil worship, cannibalism and licentiousness,

the work seems flawed in this regard. Not to have dealt emphatically with the role the dehumanization of Africa played in shaping the Black image in the white mind seems inconsistent. The full significance of the 'Dark Continent' for the Western psyche remains undone. Barring this exception, Fredrickson has done a fine job of delineating the developmental aspects of rationales for racism.

So entrenched in the minds of the general populus was the belief in the backwardness of Africa, even Black nationalists were not immune. (Moses, 1978) The rhetoric of early Black nationalists centered around the notion of "racial uplift" and given the Christian fervor of the times, "the spreading of Christian civilization." Those of us who are familiar with an increasingly agnostic world may find it difficult to visualize the God-centered existence of the nineteenth century. Yet the Church was an extremely powerful institution; Christianity reigned supreme throughout much of the world. It was closely aligned with state interests as Britain was an Angelican nation, the U.S. essentially Protestant and Spain, Portugal and Italy were overwhelmingly Catholic. Missionary work was a second calling and evangelism was pervasive.

The late eighteenth century revival movement sparked by John Wesley fueled the Protestant spirit of evangelism. Ajayi (1965) points out that;

> it infected all Protestants in Europe and North America with a new fervour and zeal in religious matters which resulted in foundations of various missionary societies in the last decade of the eighteenth century (Ibid., p. 8).

The preeminence of Christianity in nineteenth century life meant that any serious undertaking had to be approved by God. Evangelical Christianity played an important role in the buttress of slavery while striking at the social foundations of African traditional life which was considered banal, uncivilized and ultimately evil. This was a plain and fundamental theology which "abhorred ritual, dancing and finery in religious ceremonies and distrusted them in social life" (Ibid.). As Europeans interrupted African societal development with kidnapping, murder and torture, Christianity attempted to provide relief.

Ajayi (1965) asserts that the African mission school was conceived of as a process "for drawing away children physically into the mission village or at least mentally and spiritually away from the family compounds." (p. 142). Further, he argues that by the nineteenth century, many missionaries consciously desired to create an "African middle class." This class, the missionaries believed, would speed Africa's entry into "civilization and modernity" while acting as effective instruments for social reforms. The missionary interest tended to be concentrated along the West African coasts as European commerce was well established there by the nineteenth century. The missionaries also encouraged the development of trade and commerce based on the produce of farmers to be collected and processed by the "middle class agents of civilization."

Perhaps it was during some Christian ritual of saving souls that Africans became 'negroes'. Perhaps the designation was the deliberate choice of an enemy wishing to obscure his theft. Marable (1983) argues:

> In order for the racist order to function any prior claim to an alternate set of human values customs and institutions that the oppressed might have had in the preracist state must be suppressed. Racist societies must invent "the negro." (p. 75).

This is a major point. Though Chinweizu (1975) suggests that it took three centuries for the deterioration of Africa's image to take place, the fall from 'African' to 'negro' is significant. Africa produced Africans, slavery and rape produced "negroes." The move to shape the African involved a good deal of historical editing. The penetration of Africa by scholars on fact-finding missions led to startling revelations.

Taharka (1979) argues that Ancient Egypt proved to be "the germinal bed for many great advances" in the material and monmaterial cultures of the world.

> "Thus, the ancient residents of the Nile Valley and the Ethiopian highlands would have to be listed among the greatest people of those times and founders of what may have been "the highest civilization of all history" (p. 22).

The racial identity of these populations has often been debated.

> . . . . to admit that Blacks inauguarated human cultures and participated significantly in -- and sometimes led -- the affairs of man's first civilized state, cuts at the roots of whites' assumptions about their own primacy in human history and their rationalizations about their subjugation and enslavement of Africans . . . . To have disclosed that many of the elements of Western civilizations of the Black Continent would have rocked the foundations of the social, psychological and economic benefit-systems the white man structured around his use and treatment of the African peoples (p. 23).

Taharka (1979) subsequently argues that Western ethnocentrism went so far as to include "aesthetic reactions of revulsion to the physical features of the people themselves and to the very color of their skin" (Ibid.). Western religious dogma (the Biblical alleged Hamitic curse) the folk traditions tending toward white light vs. black, geographic

prejudices, associations of the ebony hours of night and the dark seasons of the year with negative emotional reactions, European standards of beauty, and Western belief in the similarities between certain animals and Africans combined to render Westerners ill-prepared to understand and appreciate other peoples' ways of life.

The field of Egyptology was particularly rife with distortions as scholars attempted to reconcile the undeniable Blackness of Egypt with accomplishment and organization that was associated with whites. Sir Harry H. Johnston postulated 'negrified caucasians', Dr. Charles Seligman "brown and black" members of the white race and "Hamites' (Ben Jochannan, 1972; Taharka, 1979). As C.L.R. James (1970) noted "Black Studies requires a complete reorganization of the intellectual life and the historical outlook of the U.S. and world civilization as a whole."

Contemporary rebuttal

Not well known outside of the Pan-Africanist scholarly community and rarely perceptible in the Black Studies curricula is the master theoretician, Cheikh Anta Diop. Diop (1978) shook the foundations of Eurocentrism's linear societal development theory when in his doctoral dissertation, he argued against Engels' "universal" theory of the origin of the family and the state. Instead, he posited a "dual cradle of civilization" theory - Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley. He further developed the concept that two divergent cultures and world views were formed due to the primary influence of climate and environmental conditions.

Another major achievement of Diop is his challenge to the belief of

"Western Africanists" regarding the primacy of paramount African diversity. Diop outlined the overarching features of continental African society that transcend the emphasis on differences seized upon by anthropologists. Indeed, the approach to the study of Africa by this group of scholars and their disciples is that it is impossible to view Africa holistically. (Clarke,1979; Temu and Swai,1981)

Ben Jochannan's preface in Black Man of the Nile and His Family (1972) opens with the statement: "In this volume facts of African history which have been for so long purposefully withheld from the public shall be revealed and carefully explained" (p. xi, emphasis added). Indeed Ben Jochannan's cumulative works relentlessly indict Western scholars and "those who are most responsible for Africa's present deplorable conditions" (Ibid., p. xii). Ben Jochannan is emphatic that the emotional impact of history is lost to the outsider and that it is the responsibility of the African to write his/her history. This Pan-Africanist word warrior has been publishing since the late 1930s.

A chief avenue used by Western academicians to deny the heritage of achievement by African people is the contrived ethnography of North Africa, encapsulated in the Semitic/Hamitic/Nilotic hypothesis. This "hypothesis gained currency simultaneously with the penetration/ desecration of Egypt by archaeologists and the burgeoning of manifest destiny in anthropology." The Black Man's North and East Africa (1971) volume exposes the flimsiness of the hypothesis with painstaking detail.

Ben Jochannan's works de-myth and lay bare the prevalent assumptions about African origins propounded by Western "Africanists." He does not

shy away from criticizing Africans who were unable to project research beyond the biases of Westerners attempting to dominate the field.

The richness of Ben Jochanan's work is in part due to the copious use of seldom referred to primary sources. His command of "classical" languages brings to bear an analysis which eludes the average practitioner in the Black Studies/African History field. The added dimension of departure from Eurocentric style and prose, with reversion to print reflective of contemporary Black speech patterns -- ("breaking it down" so the lay folks, the community, can comprehend) fully exemplify the practice of Black Studies methodology. Ben Jochannan's scholarship is Afrocentrism at its best.

Black scholars have a plethora of "axes to grind" with Western academicians in the service of racism. Ben Jochannan takes to task racist falsifiers of the African experience, co-conspirators in the name of Christian-Judaeo religion, and arrogant "European white liberal Africanists" who still seek to dominate and define the field of Black Studies.

Some may see as a possible limitation of Ben Jochannan's work that it is intended for "in-house" use. Those steeped outside of Afrocentric thought and values are unlikely to wade through the new language and conceptual framework. Blacks at the identity crisis state "Negro" (Cross, 1973; Jackson, 1975) may be inclined to disapprove of Ben Jochannan's deliberate departure from dependency on the Western model for presenting data.

Chancellor Williams (1972) makes a "blanket indictment of Western scholarship on Africa." Williams asserts Western scholars are not

ignorant of the authentic early and modern sources which acknowledge the true history of Blacks, but they "refuse to publish or ignore any facts of African history that upset their racial philosophy." Williams is definitely an Afrocentric historian. His writing recapitulates centuries-long oppression and is punctuated with an indignance that borders on anger.

> Their histories and other 'scientific' studies of the Blacks are presented just as they have been for 300 years. With the rise and spread of independent African states and the Black Revolution in the U.S., these scholarly representatives of white supremacy quickly reformed their techniques of mind control. They set up in Europe and America highly financed African studies associations, societies, institutes, history journals and 'African' periodicals of various kinds - all under complete white control and direction. Their African studies program were pushed in the colleges and universities far ahead of the general demand by Black youth for Black Studies. As the latter demands developed, Black youth discovered that white professors not only had the field occupied but were still teaching the traditional viewpoint of 'race' (Ibid., p. 38).

The Western "scholars of imperialism" Williams argues, "represent the Lords of the Earth controlling all levels of education, science and research. They control the education of Blacks throughout the world."

II. The School as a Vehicle of Cultural Imperialism

> Thanks to the prestige of European Christianity, Western civilization has entrenched the structures of its own intellectual, social economic or religious well-being in the lives of other peoples. The European is at home everywhere. He is at ease everywhere because he has crushed the language of others, has violated the spirituality of others, falsified the history of others, devalued the technological or artistic experience of others, humiliated and paralyzed the creativity of others (Alioune Diop, "Cultural Well-Being", First World 2, 3 p. 8).

The hidden agenda of schools

That there is a powerful political dimension to the possession and dissemination of knowledge is increasingly the pursuit of educators. During the last decade, a penetrating and diversified group of works has appeared on the nexus of politics and education. Classified according to their major themes, they fall into several categories:

1. liberal academic explorations of local school politics (i.e., the access and influence of particular interest groups on the School Board)
2. conceptual examinations of the role of ideology throughout the culture and the school as a transmitter of ideology
3. examinations of social class reproduction by Marxist scholars and the role of the school in this process

Of interest for this literature review are the latter two, with emphasis given conceptual examinations of ideology.[6]

This domain had been explored earlier by Marx and Engels (1970). According to Marx and Engels (1970), the power to define reality is unequally distributed. The dominant ideas, though the prevailing ideas of society at large, are those held by the rulers. Moreover, these ideas set the standards for what is considered objectively "right." What Marx and Engels referred to as "ruling ideas" is interpreted here as the dominant ideology. Backed by the established authorities, the dominant ideology supports and praises traditional arrangements and renders alternatives risky and irresponsible. Marx and Engels phrased this succintly in The German Ideology when they stated:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas . . . . The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production (Marx and Engels in Tucker 1972, p. 136).

The disenchantment with the ability of formal schooling to alter society fermented among educators in "developed" countries who studied the nature and function of the school as it related to the socio-economic background of students. The empirical evidence analyzed called into question the viability of the school as an integral part of the developmental process by suggesting that achievement was more dependent upon condition outside the schools than inside.

Education in the West is provided by the ruling class and serves to stabilize the functioning of society by helping to maintain and perpetuate a status quo. Freire commented that in a class society

> the power elite necessarily determine what education will be, and therefore its objectives . . . . it would be supremely naiive to imagine that the elite would in any way promote or accept an education which stimulated the oppressed to discover the raison d'etre of the social structure (Freire in Harris 1979, p. 140).

Freire's writings (1973, 1981) persistently maintain that education in a class society is a political act. Further he argues that its basis of education is the protéction of the ruling class interests. Its function is to instill in people a particular way of seeing the world. As an institution, it has the power to manipulate consciousness and function largely without serious opposition. Harris (1979) argued;

> While education is universal and compulsory, and while only knowledge gained through education is legitimated in a society, (rewards being offered for attainments in educational institutions and status being conferred on the

> educated) the knowledge, values and views transmitted by education can only be seen as the right ones, the proper ones and the most important ones to have and to hold. Education legitimates itself and, the way of seeing the world that it promotes and produces (p. 141).

Althusser (1971) categorizes education as "the number one dominant ideological State apparatus" of the present day. The Western practice of formal, institutionalized education is a very efficient tool for preserving the dominant ideology. The school is well suited to the task because;

> it has a captive audience serving long sentences; because it employs professional consciousness manipulators; but most important because it is legitimated, and thus the knowledge and consciousness it produces are the ones that are considered to be of most worth (Harris, 1979).

Apple's (1979) argument presented here briefly reviews the connections between ideology and curriculum; schools and cultural hegemony. The tacit teaching of values and norms as well as the ideological and epistemological commitments Western education presumes has occupied many Western and African theoreticians.[7]

Apple (1977, 1979, 1982, 1983) has devoted several volumes to the exploration of these relationships. A central theme that he grapples with is how educators can recognize, if not challenge the structuring of knowledge and its connection to social and cultural control. An important rivet in Apple's conceptual framework is the concept of hegemony, first used by Gramsci (1977) and developed by Williams (1975).

> . . . . it refers to an organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are lived (Apple, 1979, p. 5).

The concept also implies that society's fundamental patterns are held together by tacit ideological assumptions or rules which are not usually conscious. As an example, Apple argues that "the hidden curriculum" in schools serves to reinforce unconscious assumptions surrounding the nature of conflict and its uses. A basic assumption of the dominant (Western) ideology seems to be that

> conflicts among groups of people is inherently and fundamentally bad, and we should strive to eliminate it within the established framework of institutions, rather than seeing conflict and contradiction as the basic "driving forces" in society (Ibid., p. 87).[8]

This is established by the fact that at no time are these assumptions articulated or questioned in combination with the total absence of instances which show the benefits and importance of intellectual and normative conflict in subject areas. The potency of hegemony is strengthened "by the very fact that they are tacit, that they reside not at the roof but the root of our brains" (Ibid.). Expanding on the theoretical inheritances of Gramsci and Williams, Apple linked school curricula, the dominant ideology and economic structure. Questions and concerns emanate from the examination of unequal power in society and how it is maintained and recreated by the reproduction of the dominant culture. Apple concludes that knowledge is used as a

> complex filter to process people, often by class; and at the same time, different propositions and values as taught to different school populations, again often by class (and sex and race) (Ibid., p. 34).[9]

Despite the intentions of school personnel, Apple argues that schools latently reproduce inequality. Moreover, he points out that these results are not mechanistically determined by the economic

structure. Rather, this is a "natural" consequence of unequal economic forms (Ibid., p. 40).

Apple further develops the idea that what is taught in schools should be considered as a form of the larger distribution of good as and services in society.

> The study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered legitimate knowledge . . . . by specific social groups and classes, in specific institutions at specific historical moments (Ibid., p. 45).

This question of legitimate knowledge (what it is) and its relativity (when, where, why) is a recurring theme in the Black experience with Western education. The answer inevitably contains an Afrocentric interpretation of Black history (Bengu, 1976; Ben Jochannan, 1972; Chinweizu, 1975; Diop, 1974, 1878; Harding, 1970; Karenga, 1982; Kent, 1972; Madhubuti, 1979; Mazrui, 1978; Thorpe, 1971; Turner and McGann, 1980; Woodson, 1933; Yesufu, 1973). Yet this is exactly what remains excluded from Western "legitimate" knowledge paradigm and at the same time becomes critical knowledge for African people.

Apple and others[10] develop the conceptual frameworks for understanding the school as an oppressive institution that are tempting to discuss here. The key concepts to be retained from this portion of the literature review are:

1. Any subject matter under investigation must be seen in relation to its historical roots -- how it evolved, from what conditions it arose etc. -- and its latent contradictions and tendencies in the future (Apple, 1979, p. 32).

2. To isolate schooling from the complex totality of culture reproduction paralyzes analysis. By acknowledging its role in hegemony, we can see how its existence perpetuates the

status quo by advocating ideologies that sanction present institutional arrangements.

3. Knowledge is power in the hands of those who already control economic capital, for it is they who define, select and incorporate what is considered 'real' or 'legitimate' knowledge. The ruling class will give its ideas the form of universality and represent them as the only rational universally valid ones (Marx, and Engels, 1970).

4. This control of knowledge is a critical link in sustaining the ideological dominance of one group or class over the less powerful (Bates, 1975, p. 360).

Illich's (1974) denouncement of schooling is considered "radical". He argues that the next effect of schooling on society is negative. Children are demeaned by it, human worth is established by the amount of schooling one has had without respect for common sense and humaneness, and the society is oriented toward formalized expertise. The experts, by mystifying technology and certain information keep the masses ignorant of the real relationships in society and perpetually alienated from technology and its control. Illich is course critically aware of the myth of school objectivity. That is, his arguments proceed from the recognition that school is unequally available and distributed largely on the basis of parental characteristics - their wealth, income, own level of school and occupation. This observation holds in most societies that educate via the school (Carnoy, 1974) Illich essentially calls for a more egalitarian society sustained by alternative educational processes. Since formal schooling is considered the only legitimate avenue to participation in "developing" societies as well, these schools are apt to continue providing privileges for the few at the expense of the many. Presently schooling serves to divide developing societies into

two distinct classes: those with educational credentials and those without.

Bowles and Gintis crystallized these arguments in Schooling in Capitalist America. They essentially view the school as an institution committed to inequality and as a vehicle for facilitating the smooth integration of youth into the labor force. Its systemic role is a "monument to the capacity of the advanced corporate economy to accommodate and deflect thrusts away from its foundation" (p. 5). According to Bowles and Gintis (1976),

> schools legitimate inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they reward and promote students, and allocate them to distinct positions in the occupational hierarchy. They create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate "properly: to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process (Ibid., p. 11).

Carnoy extends the analysis to;

> . . . . hypothesize that the spread of schooling was carried out in the context of imperialism and colonialism - in the spread of merchantilism and capitalism - and it cannot in its present form and purpose be separated from that context.

Since schooling was imposed on non-European as a part of empire, it was a crucial component of efforts to incorporate indigendous peoples into imperial/colonial structures. Carnoy carefully shows how Western schools were repeatedly used to develop "native" elites. These indigenous elites:

> served as intermediaries between metropole merchants and plantation labor; they were used to incorporate indigenous people into the production of goods necessary for metropole markets; they were used to help change social structures to fit in with European concepts of work and interpersonal relationships; and within advanced capitalist economies such as the U.S., schools were used to fit white workers and later, disenfranchised minorities into social and economic

> roles defined by the dominant capitalist class (Carnoy 1974, p. 16).

The dominant Western ideology has preoccupied scholars and literati from the First World. (Bengu, 1976; Achebe, 1959; Chinweizu, 1974; Fanon, 1965, 1967; Mazrui, 1945, 1975, 1978; Memmi, 1967, 1968). The classic incisive analyses of the pscyhological dimensions of colonial relationships have been contributed by a Tunisian of Jewish ancestry, Albert Memmi and an African born in Martinique, Franz Fanon.

Memmi's (1967, 1968) works concentrate quite skillfully on the effects of domination and introduces us to the previously unexplored dialectics of colonizer/colonized. The stark dichotomy in relations is tempered by the presence of "liberals" or those foresighted colonials who eventually hope the colonized will become free. Memmi explains that their dilemma is itself resolved by another dichotomy they either give up and return to the metropole or they join the ranks of the colonizers. The option of genuine emphathy with the colonized is blocked by the reality of the suffering and dehumanization the colonial must accept. So the colonial society reproduces colonizers and colonized, and mitigates against any change from within.

Brutality and exploitation are the modus operandi of colonialism. The rationale is offered by altering the identity of the colonized into a hopeless caricature.

> In order for the colonized to be a complete master, it is not enough for him to be so in actual fact, but he must also believe in its legitimacy. In order for that legitimacy to be complete, it is not enough for the colonized to be a slave, he must also accept his role . . . (Memmi, p. 89). To subdue and exploit, the colonizer pushed the colonized out of the historical and social, cultural and technical current (Ibid, p. 114).

Social institutions are tailored to the colonizer's image of the colonized. The colonized, forced to function within those institutions, ulitmately accepts the caricature as identity. According to Memmi (1967), adoption of the caricature is a component of colonization rather than its cause.

Memmi's works etch in some detail the dialectics of the colonial relationship. He stops short of neocolonial analysis, when former colonial areas are "ruled" by their own nationals. The special dynamics of the oppression of women is either sufficiently developed. Shortcomings aside, he does not engage in ethereal armchair analyses and prescriptions Memmi sees only one conduit to change: revolution.

Fanon's works (1965, 1967) are important in part because of their inroads "where Memmi leaves off. Fanon argues that the transfer of authority from colonizers to the "national bourgeoisie" is a cosmetic change. Not only does the national bourgeoisis retain the same colonial institutions but often the economics and social power of the metropole increases. The economy of the former colony is seldom rearranged; usually it continues to round out the economy of the metropole. As such it is a dependent economy, maintaining themajority of the population outside the dynamic sectors of it. Significantly, the national bourgeoisie attempts to take over where Europe left off, but lacks the power and wealth of the European predecessor.

Black Skins, White Masks (1967) unveils the racial identity problems of Blacks enduring white domination. Much of the drama is enacted in the sexual theater and Fanon includes the Black female significantly in the discussion. Fanon's marriage to a European opens

up speculation as to how much the observations were autobiographical. The work opens with an exploration of "The Negro and Language." Fanon was among the first to probe the psychodynamics of language oppression.

Nyerere (1967) pointed out that the pursuit of pure learning could be a luxury in society depending on that society's material conditions. He clearly sees the role of the university as paralled to the needs of society. "Both in University - promoted research and in the content of degree syllabuses, the needs of our country should be the determining factor."

Mazrui (1975) equated the university with the multinational corporation, "born as an extension of a metropolitan university whose directions and instructions come from a European country." He argues that the European motives for the cultural penetration of Africa resulted in the emergence of the university as the most sophisticated instrument of cultural dependency. Since imperial expansion was profoundly conditioned by ethnocentrism, ultimately a cultural phenomenon. There was as much a need for cultural corporations as multinational ones. Mazrui argues that by the 1950's the university replaced primary schools and churches as the prime symbol of cultural penetration. African university graduates, because they were the most Westernized were the most culturally dependent. Ironically, the same educational institutions which fueled nationalists have also perpetuated cultural colonialism.

Mazrui (1975) laments that integration with the metropolitan system adversely affected the priorities of African scholars. In West Africa, Greek, Latin and Greco-Roman history formed the core of the

humanities. "As long as the University College at Ibadan in Nigeria maintained formalities with the University of London, three of its seven one-subject honors schools were in the classics" (Ibid., p. 196). Dance and song in highly oral societies have significant functions, yet because song and dance are leisure domains in Europe, "African educational institutions have treated African song and dance as if they were similarly divorced form work and productivity" (Ibid., p. 197).

The problem is again, rooted in the Western dominant ideology ostensibily progress and expansion, with offspring, racism and imperialism. The immediate goal of Western education in Africa was the production of lower-level manpower throughout Anglophone West Africa. By the 1930's young Africans with Cambridge School Certificates were in great demand for jobs as bank clerks, junior customs officials assistant managers, government administrators, police cadets, teachers and church novices (Ibid., p. 198). But of perhaps even greater importance was the colonial need to expand the market for consumer goods. Redefining the market through acculturation rivalled the production of appropriate manpower as a motivation for the African university. Mazrui insists that universities "have virtually been defined as institutions for the promotion of Western civilization."

The non-neutrality of the "American" educational system has been amply explored by many authors.[11] From kindergarten through grade 12 and throughout higher education, Bowles and Gintis (1973) maintain that there is an identifiable class structure in the schools.

Weinberg (1977) argued that the school system has always been

> committed to the maintenance of racial and ethnic barriers which accepted by school people which were accepted as inevitable limitations on educational opportunity (p. 2).

Despite this it is widely believed that education acts to offset social inequities by becoming a vehicle for upward mobility. Blacks in particular have clung tenaciously to this belief. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 (Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka) reinforced this wish with the creations of cosmetically integrated schools. Integration was insurance that all children, regardless of race, creed, color or religion would be rendered access to quality schooling. Once in these integrated surroundings, children would be offered basically "equal" curricula, and "equal" opportunity to school resources. On the face of it, this appears to be the clearest manifestation of equal opportunity for all in a democratic society. Yet, study after study indicates that this is not so. It does appear that U.S. schools reinforce rather than ameliorate social inequality and contribute to the deepening of the differences children bring with them.

> One implication stands out above all: That the schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context: and that this very lack of independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer and environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. For equality of educational opportunity through the schools must imply a strong effect of schools that is independent of the child's immediate social environment and that strong independent effect is not present in American schools (Coleman Report 1966, p.325)

Since equality of opportunities implies equal chances but not

equal outcomes it is incumbent on the school "to develop and reward children differently but fairly on the basis of their individual capabilities and intellectual merit" (Harris, 1982 p. 105). This intellectual merit is seen as a reliable indicator of a person's productive value which winds up becoming indicative of personal merit in a wider sense.

Further, currency is given the concept that education, like "blind justice" is an objective selector of intelligent, rational individuals for the highest positions in the sociopolitical and economic hierarchy (Carnoy, 1974). It is widely believed that schools fairly select the most able students for the more intellectually demanding jobs. Worse, the school has the image as a repository of worthwhile knowledge that it alone passes on. This fact is structurally secured since schooling is compulsory and since resources for the transmission of knowledge are overwhelmingly concentrated in the schools (Harris, 1982). A significant portion of worthwhile knowledge is the dominant ideology in all of its intricate manifestations. Some have argued that the dominant ideology of the West and its raison d'etre is racism and imperialism (Chinweizu, 1975; Kovel, 1970; Madhubuti, 1977). The primacy of its role in Western culture is indisputable.

Thomas (1972) argued that the cultural heritage of this society is one of racism and caste. Thomas' position is that for Blacks in the United States, education "is still an education for slavery." The school is the tool used by the oppressor to destroy the positive self-image of Black children. As the first oppressor with which Black children must deal, for Thomas, there is little difference between a

school's oppression of children and the colonizer's oppression of the colonized. The school at once destroys the child's belief in her/himself and insists on practices which promote unquestioned acceptance of school autocracy.

> Destruction of self-image affects student academic performance. Students who do not like themselves fail. And ths failure fuels racist beliefs that one class or race might indeed by genetically inferior or "culturally disadvantaged beyond help" (Ibid., p. 2).

Thomas perceives a tragic irony in that in failing to educate the children of the oppressed, schools are succeeding in their basic function. Thomas's article strikes a sharp contrast to other works in the genre. As a position paper it avoids the droll singsong of "purely factual, objective" research statements that are legion in academia. Instead, the work is vibrant and alive with strong statements and relevant observations. Regrettably, concise, lucid arguments of this type were infrequent in the literature.

Historical opposition: Colleges and Blacks in the United States

The legacy of presumed Black inferiority set up the Western school as a proving ground for Black intelligence. From the beginning, Africans set out to prove that they could compete effectively with Europeans and thus reaffirm their membership in the human, not animal, family. Literacy, vocational and classical studies were undertaken by the race. Higher education was the final testing ground.

Weinberg (1977) called higher education in the United States "the guarded preserve". Blacks were excluded since public policy restricted educational opportunities to the children of dominant

social groups. Oberlin and Antioch were notable exceptions that regularly admitted a few Blacks. By 1865 Weinberg estimated that U.S. colleges graduated a total of probably 15, perhaps as many as 28 Black students (Ibid., p. 265). Alexander L. Twilight in 1823 was the first Black in the United States to secure the baccalaureate, graduating from Middlebury College in Vermont, (Wade, 1976).

Largely due to the influence of colonization societies, some medical schools in the nineteenth century accepted Blacks. This was conditional since upon completion of their training, they were expected to emigrate. Prior to the Civil War, Harvard Medical School admitted three Black men and a white female, but succumbed quickly to students pressures to have them dismissed (Takaki, 1978).[12]

The historically Black colleges in the United States were created by a wave of philanthropy and commitment to segregation that sprouted in the North following the Civil War (Bullock, 1967; Woodson, 1969; Marable, 1983). Bullock (1967) stated that this philanthropy was possible because the increasingly powerful industrial class was sensitive to rising class conflicts in Northern cities. The South presented industrialists with an opportunity to repair their image through charitable contributions to the South's educational life. These humanitarians were able to divert special funds for the "special education" that they had decided the "Negro" should have--"the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral and industrial education" (Ibid., p. 120-1).

The use of the term "colleges" is a misnomer. Until well into the twentieth century the curriculum pertained generally to industrial

pursuits. These institutions took up where others left off. Bullock (1967) points out that as late as 1910 in the entire South, there was not a single rural "Negro" public school that went as high as the eighth grade. He noted that Greene and Woodson (1930) found:

> No Negro public school, rural or urban was approved for two years of high school work. The schools, such as they were, operated for an average of 4 months out of each year. They were run by teachers whose annual salary in many states was less than $150 on the average (p. 123).

Bullock (1967) argued that the use of special education for Negroes (sic) represented a "great detour" to "a way of life to which Negroes were exposed for the purpose of perpetuating their caste condition and the schools were to serve merely as the formal channel in the educative process" (Bullock, 1979, p. 148; emphasis added).

The polemics between Washington and DuBois concerning the proper emphasis of Black education dominated Black educational considerations at the turn of this century. Once again, U.S. Blacks found themselves in a reactive, rather than proactive situation as they attempted to sway the dominant group to finance Black educational pursuits. Marable (1983) described the historically Black college as essentially the direct product of racial segregation, with its function "at least from the view of white society, to train the Negro to accept a 'separate and unequal' position within American life" (p. 216). He also noted:

> Ninety-one of the 107 Black colleges were established before 1910. Generally underfinanced and inadequately staffed, Black higher education was permitted to exist only in skeletal form during the long night of white supremacy. As late as 1946, only four Black colleges -- Howard University, Fisk University, Talladega College and North Carolina State

> -- were accredited by the Association of American Universities (Ibid.).

Despite these limitations, Black colleges played an unequalled role in the creation of Black professionals. They also provided the intellectual and social space necessary to supply the race with "the development of militant political reformers, dedicated public school teachers, physicians and other skilled professionals in the Black community" (Ibid., p. 217). Marable is convinced that without such institutions, legal segregation might still exist and the material conditions of the Black poor and working class would be worse.

Though as early as 1852, Martin Delany was moved to criticize the unconditional acceptance by Blacks of white images and standards years were to pass before it became clear that schools, and higher education specifically, reinforced this acceptance to an ominous degree. Marcus Garvey appealed to the Black masses during the 1920s while Woodson's encapsulation appeared in 1933:

> The chief difficulty with the education of the Negro is that it has been largely imitation on his mind. Somebody outside of the race has desired to try out on Negroes some experiment which interested him and his coworkers; and Negroes, being objects of charity, have received them cordially and have done what they required. In fact, the keynote in the education of the Negro has been to do what he is told to do. Any Negro who has learned to this is well prepared to function in the American social order <u>as others</u> would have him (Woodson, 1933, p. 134).

Scholarly attention has also been given the role of the school in colonial/neocolonial contexts. The literature review indicated that the pattern of imitation was not restricted to the U.S., and profoundly influenced West Africa and the Caribbean as well.

The development of schools in West Africa

According to Foster (1965), Nduka (1964) and Wise (1956) the earliest schools in "British" West Africa began as isolated ventures, subsidized by commercial interests and attached to castles in the former Gold Coast. Records indicate that the British endeavor at Cape Coast in 1752 was preceded by the Dutch at Elmina in 1644 and the Danes of Christianborg in 1722. Significantly, they were located in European strongholds and catered to mulatto children.

Elmina's school was founded by the Dutch West India Company "to educate the mulatto children for whom they felt some responsibility"[13] (Wise, 1956). It was also envisioned that the subordinate posts held by Dutchmen could perhaps be taken over by "local men of partly European descent who would not suffer from the climate as Europeans did" (Ibid.). Literacy in Dutch was the nucleus of the curriculum and the Bible was the most important book. The children were to be educated as Christians, understanding the Dutch way of life and speaking the Dutch language" (Ibid.). The Castle Chaplain administered the school assisted by a Dutch schoolmaster if one was available. Wise cites its 200 year life span for contributing to the introduction of Christianity to a few and a lasting tradition of Western education among the Fanti.

The Christianborg school was run by a soldier though it was started by the Danish Resident Chaplain and supported by the Danish trading company.

> At first the pupils were all boys, who it was hoped would become soldiers and form a literate mulatto guard. Later girls were accepted and instructed in the domestic arts. . .

> clothes, which were expensive were considered important, and it was thought better to restrict the number of pupils and clothe them in European style than to take more and tolerate local ideas on clothing or, rather the lack of it (Ibid., emphasis added).

The British outpost efforts at Cape Coast were the first in the direction of a mission school, though it was later taken over by merchants of the African company. The school's founder was a minister sent from England by Society For The Propagation Of The Gospel. Like the other castle schools its fiscal picture was blurry as philanthropic contributions tended toward irregularity. It also concentrated on Western religion and culture as the goal of instruction.

Known for many years as "The Colonial School," the old castle school at Cape Coast and others in its genre were modeled on the British charity schools. Charity schools evolved essentially as a response to numbers of poor, unsupervised and often delinquent children who were increasingly problematic to British towns. Apart from humane considerations, there was a practical necessity to do something for these children since:

> they were a menace to society. The method adopted was to bring as many as possible of them to school, and there to train them to take a share in the religious life of the community (p. 11).

Since these schools were maintained at the expense of wealthier people and churches they were "dubbed" charity schools. Eventually their work and resources were encapsulated in two organizations: the National Society, supported by the Church of England, and the British and Foreign School Society supported by the Wesleyans, among others. The Wesleyan Missions and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) were

basically the overseas equivalents of these societies in West Africa.

Religious studies formed the core of the curriculum. Wise (1956) notes that "rather grudingly, a little writing and ciphering (arithmetic) were added to the curriculum" (Ibid., p. 12). Since the poor were often ragged in Britain, the notion of uniforming students developed in part to publicize the generosity of school patrons, and as a form of behavior control.[14] This focus on clothing was exported to West Africa. Though the West African pupils were not necessarily paupers, Europeans viewed African indigenous, climate-appropriate attire as lewd and unacceptable. Moreover, these eventual African assistants were expected to completely abandon and denigrate their indigenous culture.

Inevitably, the Christian life became associated with a European way of life. Pupils in constant contact with Europeans acquired European values.

> Not only were they put aside customary habits such as polygamy and fetish ritual, but they were required to adopt some of the trappings of European life. They had to avoid native dancing, take Biblical names, wear European clothes and learn English (Ibid., p. 24).

In Gambia and Sierra Leone schools began in reaction to the slave trade. In Freetown and Bathurst particularly, schools were developed for liberated, repatriated slaves. Eventually with the cooperation of European merchants and colonial governments these schools evolved into continuously functioning school systems.

Fergusson, a repatriated ex-slave returned to his hometown of Badagry, Nigeria 1841 and persuaded traditional officials to admit missionaries.[15] At the time British formal relations with Nigeria's

sovereign ethnicities were non-existent; yet in 1842 both the CMS. and the Wesleyans dispatched missionaries to Badagry. By 1850 they had penetrated various parts of Yorubaland and Onitsha while Calabar hosted a Scottish mission.

It wasn't long before it was generally realized that schooling conferred economic advantages. Areas penetrated by European traders in touch with a coastal town had more appeal for missionaries. Without this vital link, interior peoples did not realize the trade advantages and "only the loyal converts sent their children to school" (Ibid., p. 47).[16] Often students were initially "encouraged with a few yards of cloth" (Ibid., p. 17).

Ajayi (1965) stresses that the chief distinction of nineteenth century missionaries was that they allied Christianity to civilization and consequently attempted to reform far more than just the manners of the converts. "Civilization meant to them all that they considered best in their own way of life" (Ibid., p. 14). Moreover, true religion, Christianity was inseparable from its companion- "civilization".

The West seemed to believe that its technological prowess and cultural hegemony was due to its adherence to Christianity. In 1857 Britain held a Great Exhibition of its industrial achievements.

> Prince Albert in opening a jubilee meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in that year called the exhibition a festival of the Civilization of mankind . . . . This Civilization rests on Christianity, can only be maintained by Christianity (Ibid., p. 16).

The spread of Christianity and Western ideas in West Africa was also aided by the Sierra Leonians -- ex-slaves who were newly returned

to Badagry, Abeokuta and Lagos in Nigeria. Many were exposed to mission education upon arrival in Sierra Leone and wished the same for their children.

Due to reasons of climate and expense, it was necessary that a significant part of the missionary staff be African. As commerce and trade interests also required African clerks and intermediaries, missionaries urged the creation of an African middle class.[17] One missionary commented:

> there has been no civilization which has not been cemented and sustained in existence by a division of people into higher, lower and middle classes . . . . (Ibid., p. 17).

Africa suffered in the opinion of missionaries because it lacked:

> a middle class who are prepared by their attainments to receive impulses of knowledge and wisdom and power from their superiors and communicate it to the millions of the common people (Ibid., p. 18).

Trade, the missionaries believed would create a class capable of enacting desirable social reforms that they preferred not to tackle. The sanctioning of this trade was limited to converts; the CMS roundly condemned the lucrative palm oil trade on the Nigerian coast since it left traditional societal arrangements unmarred. The commerce the missionaries wanted:

> must penetrate the country, must be based on the produce of peasants, to be collected and processed by the agents of civilization (Ibid., p. 19 emphasis added).

Schooling was attractive to Africans when it offered the English language, measurement and accounting for purposes of trade. Weinberg, (1977), Rodney, (1972) and Ajayi (1965) are clear that indigenous education predated the European penetration. This education prepared the

young to fit into family and community life. Morals and religion were imparted with clear precepts reinforced by taboos. Fables and proverbs were used extensively to train them in proper etiquette and societal conventions. At an appropriate age they were apprenticed to jobs and initiated into adulthood.

As appealing as Western education was for the aggressive in trade and zealous in Christianity, some parents resented the loss of labor on their farms while others complained the schools taught disrespect to elders and tradition. Frequently, "inducements" in the forms of clothes, books, slates, pencils, etc. were offered (Ajayi, p. 135). Nevertheless farm demands rendered attendance irregular, particularly in the dry season. The only remedy for missionaries was to persuade the parents to allow the children to be brought up in the missionary's household. Thus, the boarding school became a regular feature of the Mission House. The boarders became personal wards of the missionaries and it was hoped that the future church leadership would emerge from among them.

Boarding out children was in some ways a feature of traditional society. Often parents sent their sons to a trusted relative or friend for training. Similarly, a missionary who earned the trust of parents or the friendship of children often found them entrusted to his care.

The curriculum had a commercial and literary bias. Nduka (1964) indicated that the content came straight from Britain and "America." Speaking of Nigeria, a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission which visited Nigeria in 1920-1 commented:

> If the pupils were asked to sing any song they pleased, the chances were strong that we would hear "The British Grenadiers". . . . When they were asked to sing an African

> song, a boat song, or any chant used in thier own plays, a laugh invariably went through the whole class . . . . Similarly, if we asked about history, we soon discovered what happened in 1066, but of their own story - nothing (Ibid., p. 39, emphasis added).

The Educational Ordinance of 1882 provided for a local Board of Education to advise the colonial government on setting up a government financed schooling system. At this time, the British stronghold in Nigeria, Lagos Colony was administered with the former Gold Coast. The first government sponsored school in Nigeria did not open until 1899. Nduka speculates that the delay in government-financed schooling was due to the dominant Western ideology of the nineteenth century. "For much of the nineteenth century and even right up to the first two decades of the twentieth," he observed,"much emphasis was laid on the virtues of private enterprise" (p. 33). Congruently, the Royal Niger Company, a chartered private firm was left to administer much of Nigeria before the British government took control in 1900.

The initiatives for elementary Western schooling were undertaken almost exclusively by missionaries with colonial government interest unveiling toward the end of the nineteenth century. Evangelization at one extreme and the provision of clerks and artisans for the colonial administration and economic exploitation at the other were the incentives for the development of schooling. A secondary goal of both missionaries and the colonial government was "to turn out imitation Europeans" (Ibid., p. 35).

The aim of producing "gentlemen" was even more apparent in secondary schools which offered courses leading to the Cambridge or Oxford Overseas School Certificate. Those who passed these exams could

then pursue further studies overseas if wealth permitted. As schooling was not free, sometimes great sacrifices were made to insure access to highly paid jobs. By the early 1930s, the successful completion of a secondary school course became the new standard of entry.

Foster (1965) noted that in Ghana between 1900 and 1910 only four institutions offered secondary instruction and these were essentially "the result of early African enterprise" (p. 115). Foster describes British policy as "extraordinarily cautious". He indicates that the colonial government operated only two secondary schools as of 1950, while government aid had only been extended to eleven additional institutions.

On the African continent, universities were created as outposts of an imperial university system. Chinweizu (1975) pointed out, "They draw no inspiration from Timbuktu's vanished university, but, they have strong links with London, Durham, Paris and Marseilles" (p. 323). Designed to meet the colonizer's needs for bureaucrats and protection of the colonizer's economic interests against African indigenous competition, "these universities emphasized the fine and liberal arts, the classics, the sciences, and public administration, but they did not dare provide facilities for training Africans in entrepreneurial skills" (Chinweizu, 1975, p. 324). Instead, these colonial apprentices were taught Celtic, Old English, British Empire History, British Empiricism and Atomism.

> they did not bother or haughtily refused to include Hausa, Igbo, Swahili, Ewe, or African history, African religions and African arts in their curricula. And after independence, some of those minds brainwashed by them into Anglophilia have opposed any

> Africanization of the intellectual content of African universities (Ibid., emphasis added).

The oldest West African institution of higher education was Fourah Bay College. In 1876 it began offering courses at university level for theological and arts students. Fourah Bay was "affiliated" with Durham University and students could qualify for overseas degree and diploma examinations. As the only institution of its kind for nearly sixty years, it catered to the promising elite.

Ghana's Achimota school was the only secondary institution that in any organized way attempted to develop specifically "African" courses. It resembled the British boarding school since it was highly selective, elite and residential. Foster (1965) noted that:

> Gold Coast plants were studied and classified to enable curriculums in botany to accord with Gold Coast conditions. History specialists were required to conduct investigations into traditional sources and develop curriculums based on African experience, while geography teaching was to be developed along similar lines. Courses in vernacular were to be related to the study of nature laws and institutions; science and mathematics were to be geared to local life and environment (p. 166).

At each successive rung on the schooling ladder, fewer and fewer of a few benefitted. When the colonial regime founded Nigeria's first institution of higher education at Yaba in 1930, Nduka (1964) points out that:

> the Government aimed at producing a class of Nigerians who would not hold more responsible positions in the Government service than the ordinary run of secondary - school leavers (p. 53).

Moreover the number of students admitted was geared to openings in the colonial government service or other agencies, and students were basically sponsored by them.

The Achimota school's avowed aim was to fuse the school and the local community in order to produce:

> a type of student who is 'Western' in his intellectual attitude towards life, with a respect for science and capacity for systematic thought but who remains African in sympathy and desire for preserving and developing what is deserving of respect in tribal life, custom, rule and law" (Report of School Inspection Committee quoted in Foster, 1965 p. 167).

Ironically, these aims were met with hostility by the local press and Africans who resented the compulsory inclusion of vernacular and local subjects in the secondary school curriculum. Criticism emanated from widespread suspicion that special studies for Africans was part of a conspiracy to contain them in subordinate social and intellectual positions. Further many Africans shrewdly acknowledged that what they needed was degree studies not local culture which they knew better than the European teachers (Ibid.).

Schooling in the West Indies

The total dominance of plantation agriculture and all its social concomitants differentiated the "West Indies" from the rest of the "New World." England, France, Holland, Spain, Denmark and Sweden displaced one another in the scramble for the Caribbean's wealth. The TransAtlantic slave trade made the Caribbean the single largest recipient of its African cargoes which amounted to 43 percent of all Africans sold in the Western hemisphere (Curtin, 1969). The period of small family farms supplanted with indentured labor was short-lived once seventeenth century European entrepreneurs hit upon the idea of great sugar plantations. The labor intensive plantations required huge

numbers of slaves. Between 1518 and 1870 nearly five million slaves were imported throughout the region. Yet by 1880, the combined slave population rarely exceeded two million[18] (Ibid.).

After emancipation, the ethnic fabric was expanded by the recruitment of a million more indentured workers, chiefly from Asia. Comitas and Lowenthal (1973) points out

> Here more than anywhere else masters and slaves constituted the basic ingredients of the social order; here more than anywhere else class and status were based on distinctions of color and race (p. xvii).

Throughout the Caribbbean the variant balance of slave and free, of African, mulatto and European, each circumscribed by unique historical complexities brought about sociocultural complications.

The question of national identity seems perpetually troublesome where residues of absentee mentality still linger and

> where it is widely believed that the way to get ahead is to get away, and where the prizes to be won and the exempliars to be followed beckon from London, Paris and New York (Ibid.).

Throughout the archipelago, overriding economic forces imprinted similar patterns on the social structure. From the outset merchantilism, the economic counterpart of nationalism, provided the guiding doctrine for Europe's involvement. The intensive cultivation of sugar cane was the Caribbean's value for the British and French metropole. (Ibid., p. xv).

Knight (1978) argues that exploitation societies of this type were frequently fragmented. The color/class cleavage endemic throughout the region has been amply developed by many authors (Braithwaite, 1957, 1964, 1974; Carew, 1976; Comitas, 1960; Guerin, 1971; Hoetink, 1971;

Lowenthal, 1960, 1968; Millette, 1974). Knight posits that the white elite physical presence was marked by a psychological transiency, "with a myopic confusion of social order and productive efficiency" (Knight, 1978, p. 65). The result was that frequently the most interesting features of the society were created by the lower classes. "Africa is an inescapable fact of Caribbean life and society" (Crahan and Knight, 1979, p. 17).

Yet during the long period of social disintegration and reconstruction that occurred during the nineteenth and present centuries, the connections with Africa became distorted, diluted and subordinated. Crahan and Knight (1979) significantly state that "a conflict developed between the Eurocentric goals and attitudes of the proponents of high culture and the mass based, Afro-American low culture" (Ibid., p. 16). Though colonialism succeeded in driving underground Africa's strong appeal, it was incapable of fully obliterating Africa from the archipelago's religion, language, folklore and literature.

In contrast to the United States' dichotomous racial organization, the multi-ethnic tapestry of the Caribbean is "distinguished by a tripartite division into white, colored, and black" where class and color are intertwined. Whites are well to do, mulattos essentially comprise the middle class and the poor masses are black. The emergence during slavery of a large free colored or mulatto population, buffered between Blacks and whites was critical in the development of West Indian society. Presently, in the political arena Blacks are in principle dominant; in economic and social affairs they remain relatively

powerless. Despite this, Comitas and Lowenthal (1973) argue that an essential feature of the West Indian hierarchy is its "general acceptance by all but a militant few" (p. xvii). This should not seem surprising given the value orientations stemming from class-color stratification.

Unlike West Africa where the Church was the initial instrument of cultural imperialism, with the exception of small evangelical sects the Protestants operating in the British and Dutch colonies evinced little interest in converting the slaves. This gap was promptly filled by clusters of organized, strongly African influenced rites, ceremonies and beliefs. In Jamaica, it has been argued, African-based religious movements played a key role in socio-political protest.[19] The theological tone in the Anglo-Caribbean was one of an official Christian tenor with resonances of a syncretic mass.

Gordon (1963) demonstrates that the idea of a system of public schools was incorporated in a House of Commons resolution introducing the act to emancipate British slaves. The same year, 1833, the British government made its first grants to school societies in Britain to provide instruction at home. The popular education movement in the West Indies grew out of government and religious bodies with a missionary design. Popular education was still a colonial package, complete with the dogma in content and method of class-conscious Britain.

In the early years just before and immediately after emancipation, Anglo-Caribbean education was "religious instruction." Slave children were seldom exposed to any literacy and most planters were reluctant to permit the clergy to attempt even the most rudimentary instruction.

Evidence indicates that private establishments financed either by church sects or individuals flourished.

The Negro Education Grants of 1835 - 1845 promoted the first opportunities for mass schooling along with emancipation. Religious groups responded to the invitation to expand their schools at government expense. A mere decade later philanthropic resources were much slimmer as West Indian sugar no longer obtained preferential treatment in the British market. The 1850s brought epidemics and available monies were reallocated (Gordon 1963, p. 45). Ultimately the "payment by results" system was entrenched in most islands. Grants were made to schools based on the students' performance in the three R's and sometimes on the teachers' efficiency in management and discipline.

The three R's constituted the basic curriculum with emphasis on memorization. As in the United States, the burden of proof of intelligence rested with the Blacks. According to Gordon (1963). "It was thought that by acquiring the same information Negro pupils could demonstrate that they were equal in intelligence to their alleged counterparts in England" (p. 45). The documents below are primary sources reproduced in Gordon's work.

In Jamaica educational access beyond the primary level was largely dependent on wealth, class and color.[20] Campbell's (1970) discussion of the development of popular education in post-emancipation Jamaica (1834-1865) also locates the impetus for this movement in Britain. Three strands of interest were identified -- Protestant missionary zeal, British philanthropy and a "conscience-aroused" government. The availability of a British subsidy to competing clergymen of the

Church of England, whose schools were not subject to any standardization, led to a steady increase in small denominational day schools for the masses after emancipation. The major subject in the curriculum was religion. Not only the missionaries but the British Government viewed popular education as a means of moral reformation for the lower class whose primary duty was "to work, to be contented with their lot and to respect their social superiors" (Ibid., p. 61). The classical humanist education of grammar schools and universities was reserved for the aristocracy.

> . . . . the Negro ex-slaves never evolved genuine schools of their own. . . . Schools were provided for the Negroes from above by their social superiors, who were almost Englishmen or white creoles in the island...a programme of popular education had no chance of being un-English (Ibid.).

Campbell's (1970) chief impulse is the identification of obstacles to the development of Jamaican popular education. The attitudes of the ruling class constituted one set of obstacles. "The conviction that the masses were not paying enough taxes strengthened the notion that public revenues in a peculiar way belonged to the upper classes" (Ibid., p. 82). Secondary education in Crown colonies as well as Britain was a private undertaking by parents.

> The argument that parents should pay directly out of their own pockets for the education of their children formed part of the Victorian laissez-faire philosophy. In Jamaica, however, this argument was informed by racism because it was thought to apply in a particular way to the Negro. A well-established aspect of the white colonist's image of the Negro was that he belonged to an indolent race. Work has long been seen as the path to civilization for the Negro. It was said to be his moral duty to work hard, and to provide for this family's present and future needs out of his earnings. Self-reliance would deliver him from the slave mentality of dependence on someone else to provide the needs of life. The Negro was said not to value anything for which

he had not paid (Ibid., p. 84).

Yet after the 1840s British philanthropy turned away from the West Indies to Africa and China. Wage levels eroded during the 1850s and by the 1860s it was plain that the masses were unable to support schools out-of-pocket. Jamaica and Barbados were able to use bequests and endowments to start new enterprises but basically the various denominations were relied on to supply secondary education. As it became apparent by the 1880s that the West Indies was facing a steady decline, large scale unemployment became primary and schooling secondary. Thus for economic reasons, parents might elect to send their children to work, not school. Moreover, the deadly duo of race and class oppression enabled everyone to know their limits of possible upward social mobility.

The picture of higher education is even bleaker. Codrington College in Barbados was the only institution of higher education prior to 1850 with the exception of the Baptist theological college Calabar in Jamaica (1843).[21] Whites and mulattos who could afford it went abroad to Europe with the conviction that it was best, supported by the provision of scholarships for that purpose. The University of the West Indies is a twentieth century phenomenon (1963). At the time of Gordon's study, (1963), an estimated 13% of eligible school age children did not attend.

Gordon's study attempts to begin documenting a history of education in the West Indies. That it accomplishes, but is flawed in a few respects. The blatantly color/caste societies that dot the Caribbean necessitate conscious attention to the effects of race and

class. It seems inescapable rather than allied to any radical critique. But Gordon leaves the reader to sift through and sort out the meanings. Were Africans (Blacks) a significant part of the secondary school thrust? Did the theological organizations cater to the planter class or was there "equal opportunity"? One must deduce.

The organization of the material is also cumbersome as Gordon's summaries are brief with interpretive speculations wanting. Despite the absence of an explicitly stated theoretical framework and the concerns mentioned above, it is unparalleled in the literature.

Asbury's (1919) contribution to a biennial survey of education, concerning the public school system of Jamaica is more lucid and revealing. He reports that between 1916-17 the rate of literacy was 53% with one in 12 persons attending schools. Seven percent of the total colonial government expenditure was spent for public education. "All schools were required to teach plain sewing to the girls, and a few which have met the requirements as to equipment receive Government aid for the teaching of cooking and laundering" (Ibid., p. 36).

Though the board of education possessed authority to make school attendance compulsory, it had only been affected in three towns. At the same time the law compelled the mandatory withdrawal from elementary school at age 14. Asbury noted that there was much more emphasis in Jamaican schools than U.S. schools upon rote exercises, i.e. memorizing poems, writing from dictation, drawing and penmanship (Ibid., p. 35). Significantly, the colonial government offered 25 secondary trade scholarships to winners of a competitive examination who agreed to apprenticeship (Morrissey, 1976).

It seems clear that Western educational concerns in the Anglo-Caribbean between 1850 and 1933 never emanated from the pulse of the masses. Rather, it accompanied the legislated end of slavery as a parallel to burgeoning popular education in Britain. It was always a matter of colonial policy. The African masses who composed as much as 95% of some islands were relegated to rural, subsistence living that rendered the three R's rather remote.

III. Racial Identity Problems and Psychological Dependency Among the Western Educated Elite

"The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed." Carter G. Woodson

Examples abound pertaining to the use of the Western educated African elite against the masses of Black oppressed people. As we have seen, this is one of their primary functions. Afrocentric scholars and activists have consistently criticized this role (Ajayi, 1965; Arnold, 1978; Bengu, 1976; Ben Jochannan, 1972; Blyden, 1872, 1967; Chinweizu, 1975; Cruse, 1967, 1968; Delany, 1968; Fanon, 1967; Frazier, 1965; Hare, 1965; Madhubuti, 1977, 1979; Marable, 1981; Mazrui, 1972, 1975, 1978; Mosquera, 1975, Nkrumah, 1970; Williams, 1972; Winston, 1971; Woodson, 1933; Yansane, 1980). Within the last two decades, a growing body of psychological literature has emerged which examines the impact of racial and colonial oppression. Its relevance in this discussion is the complementary nature of its argument to the tenets supplied previously by Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson. In addition it rounds out a conceptual frame that can be

used as a yardstick to measure the exceptional historical contributions of these men to African definitional, psychological and cultural independence.

The intensity of the battle for Black peoples' minds, increasingly waged on the turf of the school, has not occurred without casualties: Steve Biko's (1944 -1977) commitment to Black consciousness combined with his brilliant articulation of the African condition enraged the alien settler regime in Azania ("South Africa"). Their palliative was Biko's blood. Significantly, Biko became politicized while a university student. Eventually he became involved with a multiracial student organization which the Prime Minister at the time referred to as a "cancer in the life of the nation" (Arnold, 1978, p. xvi).

Africans within the organization soon questioned the scope of the organization which confined itself to symbolic multiracial events and protests. Inevitably a racial schism occurred. Biko analyzed:

> The people forming the integrated complex have been extracted from various segregated societies with their inbred complexes of superiority and inferiority and these continue to manifest themselves even in the "non-racial" setup of the integrated complex. As a result, the integration so achieved is a one-way course, with the Whites doing all the talking and the Blacks listening. (Biko quoted in Arnold, 1978, p. xvii)

It became clear to Biko then "that the entire issue of Black suppression, and in turn, the future of Black survival, hinged on the psychological battle for the minds of Black people" (Ibid., emphasis added). Biko deduced that while integration was an engaging theoretical exercise, operationally it was dysfunctional. Instead, the nucleus of the Black Consciousness Movement was the realization that mental emancipation was a precondition to political

emancipation. These tenets had been argued previously by Blyden (1967) and Woodson (1933) of those Africans who complied with the psychological enemy (particularly Blacks in "South African" police and Special Branch agents) Biko noted:

> . . . I must state categorically that there is no such thing as a Black policeman. Any Black man who props the system up actively has lost the right to being considered part of the Black world: he has sold his soul for thirty pieces of silver and finds that he is in fact not acceptable to the white society he sought to join. . . . They are extensions of the enemy into our ranks (Ibid., p. 276).

Few have articulated the politics of Black identity as skillfully as Biko has.

A large volume of research exists which states that Blacks have the same prejudices and negative attitudes towards Blacks that the white majority have. The Clark Doll Test, which was one of the deciding factors in the famous 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, illustrates this quite well. The test involved color trait choices between Black and white dolls and was administered to a group of Black and white Southern (U.S.) children. Results revealed that white children tended to identify with their own racial group, the more a Black child is exposed to a white environment, the more s/he identifies with whites rather than Blacks, and the more s/he tends to show aggression toward her/his own group (Gregor and McPherson, 1966).

Vontress (1971) asserts that

> It seems quite clear that the basic and most debilitating variable of the black personality is self-hatred. It also seems obvious that self-hatred in black people is but the other side of the coin of racism in white people, and that creates the dilemma inherent in any attempt to rid blacks of their self-rejection (p.16).

As the given situation for Africans enduring prolonged white oppression, the self-hatred of the Westernized, educated African is often more demeaning.

Frazier's (1957) portrait of the U.S. "Black bourgeoisie" was a scathing indictment of the educated elite. Frazier defined his elite according to occupation and income, which are correlates of educational attainment. Frazier's study concluded that the "Negro" middle class "suffers from nothingness" since

1. it scorned identification with the Black masses and their tradition
2. it surrendered its own tradition of the "gentleman" and instead "through delusions of wealth and power, sought identification with white America which continues to reject it" (Frazier, 1957, p. 86).

Frazier with benefit of sociological precepts and jargon lashed out at the lack of leadership among the "Black bourgeoisie". He characterized the groups as plagued by feelings of insecurity, frustration and guilt, almost a century after Blyden of Liberia said the same things. One of Frazier's limitations may well be his inability or unfamiliarity with other Diasporan and continental African experiences since he viewed the "Black bourgeoisie" as an essentially "American" phenomenon.

Woodson (1933) preceded Frazier by more than twenty years but the criticisms contained are strikingly similar. Woodson, an educator and historian used these two lenses to filter his findings. A Harvard Ph.D., Woodson was stunned and appalled at the behavior of the "highly educated." He pointed out that things must be appreciated in their historical setting. Yet, like Frazier, he lambasted the estrangement of the Western educated elite from the Black masses, who he believed

they were destined to serve. Particularly unnerving to Woodson was this group's tendency to disavow "the Negro church." This, he mused may be a relic of slavery. However, Woodson essentially flawed what he termed, "education under outside control" (p. 26-37).

A recent version of this basic argument has been advanced by Nathan Hare. His The Black Anglo-Saxons (1965) is a witty, perceptive extension of Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie (1956). Hare penetrates the masks of Black people struggling for recognition and inclusion in U.S. society. Hare defines Black Anglo-Saxon as

> chiefly distinguishable in that, in their struggle to throw off the smothering blanket of social inferiority, they disown their own history and mores in order to assume that of the biological descendants of the white Anglo-Saxon they relate to, and long to be part of, the elusive and hostile white world, whose norms are taken as models of behavior (p. 15).

The classic caricatures of accommodating "Uncle Tom" are revealed in his stunning nouveau postures. From "Sambo Statesman" to the superconsuming "Possessor" who tries to buy acceptance with green power, Hare brilliantly describes an "American" tragedy -- the fabrication of Black Anglo-Saxons.

Harold Cruse, a writer and critic, has probably been the most consistent U.S. Black intellectual concerned with a "biracial cultural impasse" (1968). This impasse involved,

> the cultural ingredients and life-styles of two races, that was so deep, that had so many ramifications, that was uniquely American, that its sociological importance transcended the political, economic and "social" attributes assigned to the problem by the social scientist (Ibid., p. 10).

Cruse (1967) posits that the internal conflict of Africans living in the United States has its origins in the polemics between

representatives of the "racial integration strain" (Douglass) and the "rejected strain" (Delaney, Blyden, Turner). Brotz (1966), Draper (1970), Marable (1982) and Pinkney (1976) join Cruse in this dichotomous view of African/U.S. intellectual history. Cruse develops this analysis and convincingly shows that true integration[22] is not attainable in the United States because it is a nation dominated by the social power of groups, classes, in-groups and cliques, both ethnic and religious. Further he states:

> Although the three main power groups -- Protestants, Catholic and Jews, neither want nor need to become integrated with each other, the existence of a great body of homogenized, inter-assimilated white Americans is the premise for racial integration. Thus, the Negro integrationist runs afoul of reality in the pursuit of an illusion -- the "open society" - a false front that hides several doors to several different world of hyphenated Americans (Cruse, 1967, p. 9).

Cruse contends that the dynamics of "American" society create only one integrated class stratum -- "the social world or worlds of 'the intellectual' and the creative and performing artist, whether literary, musical, theatrical or visual" (Ibid., p. 451). It is this tentative acceptance rendered to the Black intellectual who is functioning in the predominantly white intellectual world that fuels the illusion that integration is not only real, but a possibility for all Blacks. "Even if a Negro intellectual does not wholly believe this, he must give lip service to the aims of racial integration, if only to rationalize his own status in society" (Ibid., p. 453). This integrated status was a plus as long as the masses of Blacks were championing the struggle for integration. Indeed, Cruse argues that the special function of the Negro

intellectual is a cultural one.

Cruse's two major works (1967, 1968) explore the theme of cultural cleavage and criticize the imitative stance adopted in particular by the middle classes, artists, and entertainers. Whereas racial and cultural integrity is extremely important to Cruse, it is scoffed at by "Negro" stars. Cruse pointed to the exception of the jazz musician, a genuine Black artist steeped in the Black cultural tradition, who whites attempt to imitate. Cruse's conviction is that Blacks ultimately must recreate the cultural standards of the fine arts.

For Cruse, culture is "the mirror of true progress" (Ibid., p. 56). The root of Afro-America's problems in the cultural field "is a debilitating sickness whose diagnosis is Caucasian idolatry in the arts, abandonment of true identity, and immature childlike mimicry of white aesthetics" (Ibid.). Cruse contends that while this is not generally the outlook of the Black masses, this extreme of the racial integration philosphy has paralyzed the vision of the middle class. The "middle-class Negroes do not identify with the masses nor with the cultural needs of the masses, and every rationalization is used by the middle class to justify its views" (Ibid.). Cruse cites E. Franklin Frazier who acknowledged in his study of Black "bourgeoisie" that the "Negro" middle class knows little of culture, art, politics and world events, "so involved it is in seeking personal status as close as possible to the middle-class white world and its values" (Ibid.).

The tension between the aspirations of middle class Blacks, who

were "responsible" enough to become civil rights leaders, and the desires of the rank and file masses accounted for much of the estrangement between younger Blacks labelled "militants" and the civil rights advocates, Black and white. Curiously though, the civil rights movement was engineered by the middle class, both Black and white. Martin Luther King was assailed continuously by younger Black intellectuals for his accommodationist views. The middle class leaders' inability to see the need for structural rearrangements of U.S. society debased the civil rights movement to one of rebellion rather than revolution.

Cruse's thesis rests on the conviction that African-American ingredients formed the basis of "all popular culture" as opposed to "classical culture" in the U.S.

> Take away the Afro-American tradition of folk-songs, plantation minstrel, spirituals, blues, ragtime, jazz styles, dance forms, and the first Negro theatrical pioneers in musical comedy of the 1890's down to Sissle and Blake of the 1920's, and there would be no jazz industry involving publishing, entertainment, recording; there would have been no Gershwins, Rodgers and Hammersteins, Cole Porters, or Carmichaels or popular song tradition which is based on the Negro blues idiom there would have been no American musical comedy form which is America's only original contribution to theater; there would have been no foxtrot--which has formed the basis for American ball room dancing (not to mention several other popular dance styles in the history of American dance) (Ibid., p. 114).

Despite contributions in the creative arts and perceivved socioeconomic status and success, McGee (1973) argues that Blacks collectively represent "the end result the shaping of a slave mentality" (p. 54). He charges that Blacks have "abdicated responsibility for self-control in favor of a dependency consistent

with the mores of white America" (p. 55).

> We depend upon others who are different from us for our philosophy, our knowledge, our beliefs, our attitudes, our definitions our social organization, our cultural maintenance, our occupations, our biological survival and our social rewards . . . . This has caused us to adopt a behavioral style characterized by an inconsistency between thought and action . . . . The dependency cycle is composed of a mosaic of needs the boundaries of which include a wide range of unmet human needs. The collective resolution of these needs is intentionally blocked by those responsible for initiating and maintaining black oppression (Ibid.).

The mentality of Blacks in the U.S. reflect the institutionalized dependency role. McGee maintains that this dependency is locked in place by maintenance of a state of deprivation (unmet human necessities) which require that only certain behaviors (i.e. acquiescence) can produce reinforcement (i.e. food). Further, the behavioral acquiescence of Blacks has constituted "the guiding principle for the distribution of rewards by the controller to the controlled" (Ibid.). McGee's analysis is thorough:

> The internalization of the attitude that "those who conform to the stated ethic will ultimately realize greater success than those who do not" is facilitated by the token societal display of those who have successfully completed an African-to-European psychic and behavioral transformation. Such people are frequently presented to us as "successful" or "normal". The ideology espoused by these people and their trainees constitutes the conceptual paradigm guiding the scientific activity of modern psychologists. A full recognition of this is a necessary, although not a sufficient condition for the mental liberation of black people (Ibid. p. 56). . . . . Despite the levels of individual achievement that black people are conditioned to accept as success, the limits of our collective advancement are still contained within a complex circle of entrapment which renders us completely dependent upon others for our cultural maintenance and progress. Paradoxically, it allows us to believe that we are "almost free". Almost free is analagous to being "almost pregnant." (Ibid., p. 54)

The tragedy of racial identity crisis is sadly not limited to the

United States. Rather, it is a feature of African life at its points of connection with Western oppression. Fanon (1967) deals with problems of assimilation from a psychoanalytic interpretive vista. In the opening chapter, Fanon deftly explodes the myth of language neutrality, explaining that language is simultaneously a tool of integration and a cultural vehicle of the dominant ideology. The language of the dominant European class becomes the key to admission to the world of the West.[23] It represents for the colonized the difficult choice of national identity. By the colonizer's incessant insistence that the "native" speak the colonial language, the Black is forced into a reactive stance. "The Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter--that is, he will come closer to being a real human being in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language" (Fanon, 1967, p. 18). The Black must confront not only the colonial language but the image of her/himself that it frames. In reacting the Blacks attempt to assert themselves, to disprove the negative image. This serves to imply that they seek approval from the colonizer. It seems Fanon's objective in Black Skins, White Masks is to force the oppressed to disrobe, to see her/himself in the raw, witness their own power and act.

In Wretched of the Earth Fanon extends his (1967) analysis of Black alienation to include the process of decolonization and the role of the "native" who goes to the metropole the "newcomer". Those who have been abroad frequently return totally acculturated to the West. The "newcomers" who live in a nether world of second rate whiteness are the most dangerous of all, as they are more interested in

self-aggrandizement than national liberation. He concluded:

> when the Negro makes contact with the white world, a certain sensitizing action takes place. If his psychic structure is weak, one observes a collapse of the ego. The black man stops behaving as an actional person. The goal of his behavior will be The Other in the guise of theWhite Man for The Other alone can give him worth (p.157).

Memmi (1967, 1968) was also concerned with what Fanon called "obscene caricatures of Europe."

Nkrumah (1970) observed that elitisim is basic to a class stratified society and that the ruling classes are inherently elitist. This makes them contemptuous of the masses. In Africa after independence, the old elites (appointed chiefs, lawyers, doctors, judges top civil servants, police and army officers) not only remained intact, but acquired greater power.

Curiously, Nkrumah points out, there has been relatively little development of an African business elite. In fact, the emphasis of many pseudo-independent governments is weighted toward the public rather than the private sector. It appears then that the Westernized elite in the case of Africa is not essentially an intreprenuerial class as a commonly observed in Western metropoles. Rather it is a class carved out by extended exposure to Western education, values and lifestyles.

Chinweizu (1975) preferred the label "quisling mentality" for those Africans with chronic identity and inferiority problems. Chinweizu argued that there were parallels between the role of African slavers during the slave trade and the role of the African elite in the neocolonial connection. He described them as middle men in the

Euro-African connection who "must seem to be at least as reprehensible as that which took place in slaving time" (p. 383). However, he noted, the situation is graver today (p. 28). Chinweizu's "long letter to the Third World," minces no words and has no mercy on those Africans who comply all too eagerly with the "Pied Pipers of Progress from the West" (Ibid., p. xi). Chinweizu raises the question rhetorically, "Why do purportedly African universities serve as conduits for dumping a pro-European assimilationist's poison into our cultural stream?" (Ibid., p. 322). Black students in the United States during the 1960s rephrased the question at the historically Black colleges. They did not understand then what Waiguchu (1971), Hare (1968), Cruse (1967, 1968) and others later articulated about the Black intellectual educated in a non Black frame of reference:

> White middle class in terms of orientation, he conceptualizes reality in the white frame of mind because that is the objectivity he has been taught and the one he feels compelled to reproduce in order to be accredited (Waiguchu, 1971, p. 83).

Woodson (1933) had argued thirty years hence:

> . . . the Negro has failed to recover from his slavish habit of berating his own and worshipping others as perfect beings . . . the more "education" the Negro gets the worse off he is. He has just had so much longer to decry and despise himself. The race looking to this educated class for a solution of its problems does not find any remedy (p. 109).

Mazrui's investigations (1972; 1975; 1978) into cultural dependency and the educated elite are the most penetrating in this genre. His singular originality takes him into arenas usually avoided. His background as a political scientist and educator combines to produce stimulating documents that evince painstaking

research. Of profound significance for the discussion here is Mazrui's essay (1975), "The African University as a Multinational Corporation."

Mazrui argues that economic penetration by the West was matched by cultural penetration, "which resulted in the emergence of the university as its most sophisticated achievement." Dependency was built in because structurally the new universities were attached to the overseas imperial university systems. Admissions were based on requirements specified by the University of London in British controlled regions and likewise, curricula and exams required London's approval.

During the colonial period, the most immediate goal for Western education in Africa was to produce indigenous personnel. The creation of a class who would covet the consumer goods of the West was equally important. Ironically, with the development of African nationalism, the importance of Western education and investments increased rather than declined.

Mazrui's acumen as a political scientist is brought to bear on the observation that possibly, the growth of nationalism during the last three decades of the nineteenth century may have fueled the growth of multinational enterprises. He observes:

> . . . . while local personnel recruited for multinationals in Europe or North America are themselves products of the same western civilization (broadly defined), local personnel in Africa need to be partially de-Africanized in advanced before they can become culturally-relevant for the multinationals . . . The growth of this market for western consumer goods was partly dependent on the spread of western taste and life-styles. These were disseminated by a variety of devices, from advertiements to the western demonstration

> effect as revealed through magazines, films and direct example. But linked to all these other disseminative devices has been the solid core of educated and semi-educated Africans, at once followers of the West and leaders of their own societies in many areas of life (Mazrui, 1978, p. 294-295; emphasis added).

Cultural dependency is evident in the insensitivity to, if not the absence of African languages, musicology, dance and song and "even the wider domain of oral tradition" (Ibid., p. 306). In the social sciences, what is studied has been changed without attendance to how. The adoption of Marxist approaches to political and economic analysis Mazrui regards as a form of "residual intellectual dependency" (Ibid.). Thus, "the cultural packages in economics and political science, more so than in history and literature, continue to bear the label, "made in the western world" (Ibid.).

Morrissey (1976) provides an arresting analysis of the superstructure of knowledge subjugation, referred to in this study as "the politics of knowledge." She argues that in the case of the British West Indies:

> scholars from Britain and the U.S. have carried out research and teaching on these islands and served as barriers of ideological rationalizations for colonialism in the world views of twentieth century social science. The nascent discipline of anthropology was sustained by the opportunities that 19th century British colonialism offered for the study of racially and ethnically defined groups in pre-industrial societies (Ibid., p. 98, emphasis added).

Moreover, their observations have generally been accepted by West Indian scholars, leaving intact the legacy of colonial domination after the formal ties have been severed. Morissey is explicit:

> And as is the case with the study of blacks in the United States, the study of Third World societies is dominated by Western social scientific paradigms (p. 99).

The congruence between the historical and material conditions of Blacks and other oppressed, former colonial peoples was frequently noted in the literature. Morrisey argued that a common official and academic interpretation of West Indian social problems emerged. "The most significant substantive features of analyses of Caribbean stratification has been the focus on cultural differences between the colonizers and the colonized" (p. 105). These studies of a structural-functional nature are rooted in the recurring belief that a systemic weakness has arisen as a result of economic, political or ecological conditions. Thus, "centuries-old inequalities were expected to be eradicated through cultural compensatory mechanisms, e.g. music, religion, particular marital forms" (Ibid.). To colonial personnel and academic observers it seemed that the adoption of Western middle class styles was the key to alleviate their poverty and oppressive material conditions. Morissey reiterates, "It is through the subtle and intricate designs of social science that much imperialistic activity has been explained and justified, both in the metropolitan and satellite nations" (p. 114).

Michael Manley critiqued the role of education in the "developing" society in The Politics of Change - a Jamaican Testament (1975). According to Manley, education cannot consist merely of techniques of transmitting information nor can it be neutral. Since Jamaican education was an imported product from Britain at a time when British education was concerned with moral neutrality, the task at hand is to refashion the system to promote Jamaica's view of its own possibilities. While Manley is quick to assess that like other First World

nations Jamaica's educational system is in danger of producing an increasing number of graduates for the professions and white-collar careers, his central concern is how does Jamaica develop "the innovative spirit?" (p. 161). How does a developing society proceed if there is not a kind of attitude prevalent in the society which has the self-confidence to believe that it can find new answers for itself? Manley sees education having as a central impulse, "the general task of psychological transformation."

At times, Manley's vision seems tainted by the limitations of vertical class domination. He insists that Jamaica "has never had a period of its history in which it has accepted the work ethic." This, is attributed to slavery where work was a form of torture "imposed by one group upon another." After independence, there was little change in the work relationship such that "the great majority of the Jamaican people came to the adventure of freedom with attitudes towards work that reflected the misery of their historical experience" (p. 169). What Manley refers to as the "work ethic" is also understood as the "Protestant ethic." He fails to realize that aversion to "work" by the Jamaican masses constitutes some level of resistance to oppression. Manley's class bias seeps through as he "blames the victim".

He is surprisingly neutral about the culpability of the West in the creation of the material and psychological conditions Jamaica faces. And while he argues that God is neither white nor Black in criticism of Rastafarians and others who "take refuge in an opposite irrationality, declaring that God is black and that they want to go

home to Africa," Manley asserts that between extremes lies "a path of sanity." "God, naturally is multi-hued" Manley writes (Ibid., p. 164). Manley sees God as his own reflection. Since Manley is "multi-hued" and the descendant of a compote of ethnic groups, he is unable to permit the African descendant the use of that same mirror.

The occasional slips in analysis are salvaged by Manley's clear commitment to social justice and the elimination of a class stratified society. "In a sense, the educational system must create new generations who evolve their own social orders as an extension of new concepts which they discover in their formative years" (Ibid., p. 177).

In varying degrees, numbers of English-speaking African commentators from the continent, the Caribbean, and the United States connect the possibilities inherent in institutionalized education with conceptual redirection. The deliberate nexus of a national liberation struggle and the role of the Westernized elite was put forth vividly by the late Secretary General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), Amilcar Cabral.

On October 15, 1972 a mere three months before his assassination, Amilcar Cabral received an honorary doctorate degree at Lincoln University. His address at that time, centered on what he termed "the problems of the return to the source and of identity and dignity in the context of the national liberation movement". Similar to Mazrui's (1975) indictment of the African university, Cabral presented a searing analysis of the role of culture in national liberation.

Cabral (1973) argued that the area of colonial cultural influence

tended to restrict itself to coastal strips and to limited parts of the interior. Outside the boundaries of the capital and a few urban centers, the influence of the alien culture is practically nil. The result is that.99% of the indigenous population is virtually untouched by alien forms.

> It only leaves its mark at the very top of the colonial social pyramid - which created colonialism itself - and particularly it influences what one might call the 'indigenous lower middle class' and a very small number of workers in urban areas (Ibid., p. 60).

Cabral attributed this to the resistance of the masses who recognized that their indigenous culture acts a bulwark in preserving their identity. The imposition of a vertical structure strengthens their position as the alien power's interest is in promoting and protecting the cultural influence of their allies, the national bourgeoisie.

The question then of preservation of national culture, or "return to the source" is an empty one for the indigenous masses; rather it is a critical one or groups who are wholly or partially assimilated. It is they who seek to identify themselves increasingly with the alien culture both in social behaviors and appreciation of its values. He also likened Pan-Africanism to an expression of this return to the source. Though Cabral on this occasion did not specifically establish the role of Western schooling in this process, in practice in the field, a top Party priority was the establishment of schools in the liberated zones of Guinea-Bissau.

Cabral's stimulating insights were charged by his theoretical

commitment to an essentially Marxist-Leninist ideology. The "return to the source" by the national bourgeoisie (native elites or internal colonial elite) goes beyond the return to traditions. It is:

> the only possible reply to the demand of a concrete need, historically determined, and enforced by the inescapable contradiction between the colonized society and the colonial power, the mass of the people exploited and the foreign exploitive class (Ibid., p. 63).

Moreover, Cabral posits that herein lies the paradox of colonial domination:

> it is from within the indigenous petite bourgeoisie, a social class which grows from colonialism itself that arise the first important steps toward mobilizing and organizing the masses for the struggle against the colonial power (Ibid., p. 69).

The repeated disavowal of this role by Westernized elites has constituted a perpetual Achilles' heel in the global African struggle for national and psychological liberation.

There is considerable agreement in the literature reviewed concerning the identity crisis experienced among the Western educated elite. When present, rigid class structures seem to have intensified the extent to which the denial of Africanity took place.[24]

Christianity and the vehicle of the school combined to render many Black intellectuals of the period self-effacing, "responsible" leaders. Despite the overwhelming power of these two institutions, there was a small but steady stream of proud Africans who raised voices and pens against the hegemony of the West. Edward Blyden, Joseph Casely-Hayford and Carter G. Woodson are part of this tradition.

IV. Introduction to Selected Black Critiques

Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson have been selected for inclusion in this study because of their contributions to the historical antecedents of Black Studies. Their resurrection and inclusion is important at a time when the necessity and legitimacy of academic Black Studies is again being challenged. Like contemporary Black Studies scholars, they dissented with the dominant ideology and its offshoot, assimilation/integration. They too raised questions and doubted established practices concerning the focus of education for Black people. Each contributed to the creation of a global Black consciousness which emerged during the twentieth century.

Blyden has received the most scholarly attention. Holden's (1966) biography eclipsed Lynch's (1967) prominent study by just a year. Blyden's discourses can be found in Brotz (1966), July (1967), Lynch (1971), and Wilson (1969). The revival of Black identity issues and the birth of Black Studies in the Western Academy may have influenced Livingston's choice of Blyden's educational activities for a dissertation in 1971.

Livingston's (1971) study of Blyden is largely biographical though he does provide topical and interpretive analyses of Blyden's educational schemes. Blyden forshadowed many of the philosophical and cultural concepts made prominent by later Pan-Africanists. His proclamation of a positive, unique "African personality" before the turn of the century redefined Black humanity. He was moved to extol "African socialism" before Nkrumah, Toure', Nyerere and Senghor were born. He

radically viewed Africa's mission in terms of a cultural reciprocity with Europe based on the African's moral and spiritual superiority long before Cesaire or Senghor consciously encapsulated the ideas in negritude.[24] Yet Blyden saw himself first as a teacher and he expressed his philosophy in terms of appropriate education for African youth.

Blake's dissertation (1976) deals specifically with Blyden as a controversal rhetor of the nineteenth century. The text treats Blyden's discourses between 1861-1862 and 1880-1890 when he lectured in the United States urging African emigration. Blyden is central to this study because he stands out as the first Black man of letters in the Western sense to take such an emphatic position on the unity of African people, the deliberate destruction of African history and the need for culture specific education as a remedy. Blyden's impulses toward uniting English-speaking West Africans were carried on by his staunch disciple, Casely-Hayford.

July's (1967) study of African intellectual history appropriately includes both Blyden and Casely-Hayford. July averred that Casely-Hayford's significance was not his uniqueness but the commonplaceness of his ideas. He became the most effective leader of his generation in West Africa because his views were widely shared throughout the region.

Kimble's work (1963) treats Casely-Hayford's energies in the political sphere and his nationalist activities.

Sampson's West African Leadership (1969) is a compilation of Casely-Hayford's speeches and Gold Coast Men of Affairs (1969) places

him in context with other Ghanaian leaders. McGuire's (1974) dissertation deals with Casely-Hayford's ideology in terms of the continuity in Black political protest thought on the continent and in the Diaspora. Ofosu-Appiah's (1975) pamphlet seems to be the most vivid portrait of the early Pan-Africanist. To date there is no single volume dedicated entirely to Casely-Hayford.

Woodson's remarkable career was the subject of Romero (1971)'s study.[25] This study is indebted to several individuals who knew Woodson personally. Though Woodson contributed occasionally to Garvey's Negro World, he seems to have stayed away from conventional political arrangements, preferring to politicize history through his writings and organization. His pungent dissection of Black education ("under outside control") remains defensible fifty years later.

The next section proceeds with a portrait of each man. Some, but not painstaking, biographical details offered. The core of thought which links them to the Afrocentric frame of the study is then surveyed with commentary reserved for the following discussion section.

Edward Wilmot Blyden

> "Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Psalms

The erudite majesty of Edward Wilmot Blyden distinguished him as the chief Black intellectual of the ninetenth century (Billingsley, 1970; Brotz, 1966; July, 1967; Livingston, 1971; Lynch, 1967, 1971; Moses, 1978). His accomplishments did much to jar the West's rationale for the

Blyden, circa age 40

debasement of Black humanity. The world into which Blyden was born, was conceptually dominated by racism and Christianity, economically controlled by Western Europe and characterized by flagrant abuse of the vast majority of African people under chattel slavery.

It was a time when men were "called" to discharge certain duties or services to society. Blyden was "called" first by Christianity and then by Africa. These two powerful forces inspired Blyden to struggle for his race. He did so with classic eloquence and an intensity seldom matched. To do justice to such a full, complex life is outside the parameters of this study; what follows in an abbreviated synopsis of Blyden's educational activities during his eighty years.

The young Blyden

Edward Wilmot Blyden was born "free" in 1832 on the island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean. Under Danish domination at the time, it boasted the largest slave market in the world (Livingston, 1971, p. 19). The third of seven children, Blyden was relatively privileged as both his parents were literate and free when most Africans were neither. Ironically though St. Thomas was a Danish colonial "possession," English was the lingua franca.

Several factors combined to establish the pre-eminence of Christianity in Blyden's life. Livingston (1971) points out that "there was probably no other place in the world at the time where so high a proportion of slaves had been taught to read as a consequence of missionary zeal" (p. 21). The extent to which Christianity dominated the lives of nineteenth and early twentieth century folk is somewhat

incomprehensible given today's agnostic and anti-sectarian climate, particularly in the scholarly community. Yet, for several centuries Christendom reigned supreme while everything outside of it was "pagan" and "heathen". The marvel of Western technology and superiority was attributed to God and His determination that the world should be converted (civilized). The Protestant religion was deemed the vehicle.[26]

The preference for Protestantism among influential Blacks preceded Blyden and was noted in David Walker's Appeal (1848) and Martin Delany's tract describing his Niger Valley expedition (1854). Moses (1978) observed that: "Protestant Christianity was an essential rather than accidental quality of Anglo-African nationalism "(p. 48).

As a youngster, Blyden lived in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood in the capital, Charlotte Amalie and attended a Dutch Reformed church. In 1842 the Blydens left for Porto Bello, Venezuela where Edward discovered his facility for learning other languages. Two years later when the family returned home, Edward was fluent in Spanish and perturbed by the awareness that Africans in Venezuela as well as his native St. Thomas were limited to menial work. Upon returning he began a five year apprenticeship as a tailor (Lynch, 1967, p. 4).

The advent of a new minister in 1845 had profound implications for young Blyden. The Reverend John P. Knox was a white "American" who was deeply impressed by the bright, studious and upright Christian young Blyden. Blyden was equally impressed according to Lynch (1967)

> mainly because of his close association with the able and kindly Knox, Edward decided to become a clergyman, an aspiration which his parents encouraged (p. 4).

May 1850 found Blyden sailing in the company of Mrs. Knox to the United States The Reverend Knox had referred Blyden to Knox's alma mater, Rutgers Theological College. To his shock, Rutgers and two other seminaries rejected him. Pressing also was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law which threatened the safety of every "free" person of color.

In this climate, Blyden spent several months in New York where he met many Presbyterians associated with the "colonization movement." Blyden despaired of attaining the higher education he had come so far for but his friends encouraged him to look forward, not back. That Blyden should remain in the United States was out of the question. Opportunities in St. Thomas were limited; Canada, the home of many "free Negroes" and runaway slaves, neither appealed to him. What did appeal to him were the possibilities in Liberia. "In December of 1850 he reported himself enthusiastic about Liberia, having had the opportunity of hearing several 'colored' people in New York debate about it" (Livingston, 1971,p. 29).

Blyden at eighteen was intolerant of opposition to the colonization remedy. He found it strange that in a land where even "free" Blacks were constantly in danger and could rarely hold anything other than a lowly position, that these same Blacks should refuse opportunities in Liberia.

Founded in 1822, Liberia was a settler colony engineered by the American Colonization Society. By 1847 it was an independent nation that had the potential for demonstrating Africans' capacity for self-government. The idea of building a great Black nation in Africa had

tremendous appeal for Blyden.

> He unquestioningly accepted the current view that Africa was "the dark continent" and that a new and progressive civilization would be created through the influence of westernized Negroes[27] (Lynch, 1967, p. 5).

Blyden dismissed the criticisms levelled at the colonizationists and remained convinced that Africa stood to benefit whatever their motives. With the approval and encouragement of his benefactors, the Knoxes, Blyden sailed in December 1850 to Liberia. "His first letter to the U.S. described his rapture and pride at being on African soil" (Ibid.,p. 16).

When Blyden arrived in Monrovia a month later, he encountered a settlement of about 1300. The entire emigrant population, depleted by a high mortality rate, was just over 6,000 in a nation of 13,000 square miles with a coastline of approximately 300 miles. Lynch (1967. p. 12) states that Blyden lamented that there was no opportunity to utilize his tailoring skills because all clothing was imported ready made.

By summer Blyden resumed his studies at Alexander High School, a Presbyterian institution. He studied theology, the "classics," geography and mathematics on a part time basis. Blyden rapidly distinguished himself as an exceptional student and arrangements were made for a scholarship to enable him to study fill time.

Education and the "African Personality"

Within a mere two years, Blyden became a lay preacher, and by 1854 was a tutor at Alexander High. Occasionally, he functioned as acting principal. Lynch (1967) reports that Blyden devoted most of his spare

time to the study of Hebrew so that he could read Bible passages that related to the African. In 1858 he was ordained Presbyterian minister and also succeeded the Reverend Wilson as principal of Alexander High. He carried on, uncritically, Wilson's curricular emphasis on the classics.

Livingston (1971, p.49) points out that the emphasis on the classics did not demote the Bible from its revered position as primary textbook and Christian religion as the center of the curriculum. Wilson's emphasis on memorization and recitation influenced Blyden's pedagogical technique. History was seen as divine with the revelation of God being the central teleological force; this was a tenet that Blyden was to cling to throughout his long life.

Blyden's love of the classics fermented during his early years in Liberia. As remote as the mastery of classical languages may seem, even for a race unfolding in the turbulent nineteenth century, Blyden was convinced of its efficacy. He was vitally concerned with the development of an indigenous intelligentsia, capable of leading through service to the race. He stressed as an aim, not information, but formation of the mind: "Mere knowledge of itself is not power -- but the ability to know how to use that knowledge -- and this ability belongs only to the mind that is disciplined, trained, formed" (Lynch, 1971, p. 195). He believed Latin and Greek studies contributed to this discipline.

Moreover, he believed:

> In those languages there is not, as far as I know, a sentence, a word or a syllable disparaging to the Negro. He may get nourishment from them without taking in any race-poison (Ibid., p. 240).

Equally important, Blyden argued that:

> the proper study of Greek and Latin is not limited to a mere acquaintance with words in a foreign language, but necesarily involves a good deal of historical and geographical and even religious knowledge and a pretty extensive acquaintance with the best models of reasoning and eloquence, unequalled by anything to be found in modern European literature (Ibid., p. 258).

At the same time, Blyden was clear that study in general required a practical value. Study needed to be related to one's prospsects in life. He initiated correspondence with W.E. Gladstone, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer because of their mutual interest in classical literature.

Yet Blyden defied the stereotype of the armchair scholar; he was active in the public life. When the Liberian Republic required defense, Blyden was there. When in 1852, Gerrit Smith, a U.S. Senator from New York ceased to support colonization, Blyden argued that colonization was the only means of delivering the colored man and raising him up to respectability. When Martin Delany devised a plan for an African empire throughout the Caribbean, Central and South America, Blyden replied that it was only in Africa that Africans could establish an "empire." When the government launched an expedition against a recalcitrant hinterland chief, Blyden too, was a part (Lynch, 1967, p. 13-17).

Trips away from the coast into the hinterland enabled Blyden to contrast his own observation with Liberian versions of the indigenous people. His first major contact with indigenous Africans left him indelibly impressed.

> Henceforth, Blyden was to berate Liberians for making a distinction between themselves and the native Africans, and urged that they should be encouraged to participate in the life of the Republic (Ibid., p. 15).

This grated against the interests of the mulatto ruling elite in Monrovia, as they tended to look down on Blacks as inferior. This issue, escalated eventually to a perpetual tug-of-war between the mulattos and Blyden.[28]

The spring of 1861 Blyden sailed to England to attempt fundraising for a female seminary then to the United States to participate in the General Assembly of the American Presbyterian church as Africa's first Black representative. At the same time Livingston (1971) noted, it ended his studies of a decade and closed the chapter on his association with Alexander High School (Ibid., p. 87).

Crummell preceded Blyden to the United States but they joined forces in June, 1861. Despite the outbreak of the Civil War they agitated for Black emigration to Liberia. Blyden welcomed the Civil War as a possible means of bringing about the death of slavery and as "the purifier of a demoralized American conscience" (p. 27). Upon returning to Liberia, Blyden and Crummell reported that U.S. Blacks were ready to emigrate.

Though Blyden's formal education was abridged at the completion of secondary school, his self-education and poise rendered him truly exceptional. In 1861 at age 29, Blyden was appointed professor of languages at the newly established Liberia College. The government passed an act authorizing the appointment of commissioners:

> to present the cause of Liberia to the descendants of Africa in that country, and to lay before them the claim Africa has upon their sympathies (Ibid.)

J.D. Johnson (a wealthy merchant), Crummell, and Blyden were

subsequently appointed to the posts. Almost a year later Blyden and Crummell again sailed to England and the United States, this time as commissioners. This was a telling experience for Blyden as he experienced new depths of degradation and discrimination. He was apparently shocked to learn that in Philadelphia, the city of "brotherly love", no Blacks were permitted to ride the street-cars. Further humiliation awaited him in Washington where he was barred from entering the House of Representatives because he was Black. Though slaves in the District had been freed a few months prior to his visit, Blyden observed that the Fugitive Slave Law still operated as he was accosted[29] (Lynch, 1967, p. 29).

Blyden reflected in a letter to Gladstone:

> I thought how sad it was that so many people seem disposed to cling to this land -- fearing to go to Liberia lest they die of fever. But are they <u>living</u> in this country. Their color is, the sign of every insult and contumely. Everybody and everything is preferred to them. Afraid of dying! Would it not be much better for the whole five million of them to leave this country, if everyone died in the process of acclimation . . . . than to remain in servitude at the base of society? A whole race in degradation! The idea is horrible. If they all went and died, it would be a noble sacrifice to liberty (Ibid., p.29).

Blyden was also shocked to learn that enthusiasm for emigration had waned as he extended the Liberian invitation to U.S. Blacks. He began to berate his audiences for their lack of pride in Africa and missing sense of responsibility toward it. He argued instead that it was the design of Providence that they should return and help in the "civilization" of Africa before it was usurped by Europeans.

Blyden's eloquent pleas for an African nationality fell largely on deaf ears. Africans in the United States were instead conscious of a

more immediate aim -- ending slavery with the goal of attaining the rights and privileges of U.S. citizenship. Blyden was convinced that the race would be relegated a permanent, inferior status unless a powerful nationality was established. Disappointed by the U.S. response, Blyden turned to the Anglo-Caribbean, then Canada. Since emancipation, Africans from Barbados and Jamaica particularly, demonstrated an interest in returning to Africa. Lack of finances and material aid from any quarter rendered Blyden's efforts all but impossible. As he returned to Liberia to begin his teaching post at Liberia College, he sought to keep Africans throughout the West Indies interested (Lynch, 1967, p. 33).

The mandate for Liberia College which opened in 1862 was linked with the ultimate survival of the nation. Aspirations were high even though the institution "would never have more than 20 students at one time nor graduate more than 9 throughout the century" (Ibid., p. 94). In some ways it has been suggested that Liberia College was a West African outpost of the "American College Movement" that dotted the nation with seminaries, colleges, and universities between the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. Like those institutions, Liberia College shared the ethos of a patriotic emphasis upon a national purpose. But unlike them its intellectual and financial stimuli came from outside the nation: "a Boston clique of the Massachusetts Colonization Society" (Ibid., p. 108).

The College proved to be another battleground for Blyden and the mulattos. When Blyden took up his appointment as Professor of Greek and Latin in 1863 he had already alienated many mulattos with his famous speech in 1857, "Liberia as She is and the Present Duty of her

Citizens," when he reproved the gross extravagance and materialism of Liberian society. Blyden, born into the three tiered structure of Caribbean society, did not recognize that the United States had not only sponsored emigration to Liberia, but reproduced its color consciousness abroad.

> The race problem of the United States, with significant mutations, was reproduced in Liberia: near -- white replaced white as the badge of social elite that throught itself superior to the emigrant blacks and aborigines, and the blacks of Liberia who smarted under this discrimination regarded themselves superior to the native aborigine (Ibid., p. 116).

This time, Blyden was joined by two colleagues of "pure Negro descent" theologian Alexander Crummell and Martin H. Freeman, a graduate of Middlebury College and close associate of Martin Delany[30] (Lynch, 1967, p. 40).

Antagonisms escalated as J.J. Roberts, President of Liberia College came under the relentless attack of Blyden. Blyden alleged that Roberts, an octoroon "almost indistinguishable from a white man," refused to admit Black youths to the college while insuring that ample provision was made for mulatto boys and girls. Crummell explicitly charged mulattos with "the difficulty" in Liberia.

> Never had I in all my life seen such bitterness, hate and malice displayed as has been exhibited by the two factions of the state . . . . It is the saddest of all things to come here to Africa and find one's black face a disgrace both in his ecclesiastical and social relations with half-caste people. For this, after all, is our difficulty; and has been the difficulty for years.[31]

When in early 1864 Blyden accepted the office of Secretary of State, Roberts asked him to resign. Disdainfully, Blyden did so only to be reappointed later in July 1864. The enmity never improved and two years

later Roberts suceeded in dismissing Crummell. Crummell's dismissal and the death of national President Benson which Blyden believed was hastened by "bitter mulatto persecution" were critical turning points for Blyden. He then began to challenge "wholesale exportation of American institutions to Liberia" (Livingston, 1971, p. 124). He argued increasingly, that every nation had its own work to perform.

Indubitably Blyden was influenced by a contemporary manifestation of the dominant ideology which posited that "each volk was bringing to fruition a single and laudable aspect of human character whch no other people could express as well" (Frederickson, 1971, p. 97-8). This theoretical organization [32] envisioned the Anglo Saxon as possessing

> a relentless disposition to invade and conquer other lands; his haughty contempt of humbler tribes which leads him to subvert enslave, kill and exterminate' his fondness for material things, preferring these to beauty' his love of a personal liberty yet coupled with the most profound respect inborn skill to organize things to a mill, men to a company, a community, tribes to a federated state; and his slow solemn, inflexible, industrious and unconquerable will (Ibid.).

Blyden then refashioned this idea, saw beauty in what whites labeled as evil in African people and conceptualized the "African personality" (Livingston, 1971; Lynch, 1967).

For Blyden, the "African personality" was the antithesis of the European. A strength of the "African personality" was that it served to counteract the worse aspects of the European's. According to Blyden the European character was individualistic, combative, competitive and harsh (Lynch, 1967, p. 61). Blyden seems to have first used the phrase "African personality" in 1893 at a lecture to the Young Men's Literary Association of Sierra Leone (Lynch, 1971). He referred to

Africans as:

> a great Race -- great in its vitality, in its powers of endurance and its prospect of perpetuity. It has passed through the fiery furnace of centuries of indigenous barbarism and foreign slavery and yet it remains unconsumed . . . . It is sad to think that there are some Africans, especially among those who have enjoyed the advantages of foreign training, who are blind enough to the radical facts of humanity as to say, "Let us do away with the sentiment of Race, let us do away with our African personality and be lost, if possible, in another Race" (Ibid., p. 201).

Instead, Blyden recommended the recognition that "racial peculiarities were God-given" and for Africans to bypass self-effacement. He also realized the difficulties in so doing when "all the agencies at work, philanthropic, political and commercial, are tending to fashion us after the one pattern which Europe holds out" (Ibid., p. 203).

He remarked in a letter to Booker T. Washington the following year:

> The African spirit is a spirit of service. I do not mean in a degrading sense, but in the highest sense, in which the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister. He took upon Himself the form of a servant-slave in the original. The spirit of service in the black man is born of his spiritual genius. It is his essential characteristic; and to show you that I connect no servile or unworthy idea with this remark, I hasten to add that I believe that that spirit must lead in civilization before it can become distinctively Christian -- the supple, yielding, conciliatory, obedient, gentle, patient, musical spirit that is not full of offensive resistance -- how sadly the white man needs it! (Ibid., p. 207).

Like Washington, Blyden saw no purpose in becoming embroiled in "politics and political aspirations, where every step of the way is hampered and covered with thorns and briars." Blyden argued that the African was "called to higher and nobler work." Moreover, European society was an abomination since it was very materialistic and as Blyden correctly predicted, the worship of science and industry was replacing

God's. In contrast, the African embraced "the softer aspects of human nature" marked by willingness to serve and cheerfulness. Africa's gift to world civilization was a spiritual one.[33]

Blyden was profoundly suspicious of the shift to industrialization and the ascendancy of science. Industrialism and large, crowded cities would mar "God's handiwork" -- Africa's rural landscape. Instead he envisioned:

> The Northern races will take raw material from Africa and bring them back in such forms as will contribute to the comfort and even elegance of life in that country; while the African in simplicity and purity of rural enterprises will be able to cultivate those spiritual elements in humanity which are suppressed, silent and inactive under the pressure and exigencies of material process (Blyden, 1967, p. 126).

Here Blyden's vision of the natural African man is not far removed from Rousseau's notion "the noble of savage."

In addition he maintained that of the major races, the African was the least developed. When full development did occur, new, fascinating facets of personality would emerge. Significantly, this personality development was to come about through

> emulation of the outstanding Negro personalities of the past, and even more significantly, through the careful study and appreciation of African customs and institutions in which were to be found the "soul" of the race (Lynch, 1967, p 66).

He averred that Blacks should prefer to know of the exploits of Toussaint L'Ouverture whom he regarded as "the greatest Negro produced in the western world" to Napoleon or Admiral Lord Nelson (Ibid.).

A devoted Christian, Blyden was moved to eventually indict Christianity because he concluded that it had been used as a weapon to condition Blacks into seeing themselves as inferior. In particular,

the influence of arrogant, sectarian missionary teachers undermined African self-confidence.

He wrote:

> From the lesson he every day receives, the Negro unconsciously imbibes the conviction that to be a great man, he must be like the white man. He is not brought up -- however he may desire it -- to be the companion, the equal, the comrade of the white man, but his imitator, his ape, his parasite. To be himself in a country where everything ridicules him is to be nothing. To be as like the white man as possible -- to copy his outward appearance, his peculiarities, his manners, the arrangement of his toilet, that is the aim of the Christian Negro -- this is his inspiration. The only virtues which under such circumstances he develops are, of course parasitical ones (Ibid., p 72).

This view was also influenced by Blyden's fondness of Islam and its erudition. A linguist, he found himself enamoured of the beautiful Arabic language which he began studying in the 1860s. Between 1901 and 1906 he served as Director of Muslim Education. In his later years Blyden was distinguished by his tailored Western suits which he topped with a kufi, a small white cap popular with Muslim men. He averred that Islam has been a positive influence on Africa and that many ethnic groups received the religion without it being forced upon them "by the overpowering arm of victorious invaders" (Ibid., p. 273). Its quiet development evinced that Africans "equally with other races" were capable of spirituality without European mentors. Although Blyden never became a Muslim, he enjoyed high regard among West African Muslims. His name is still well known.[34] In 1887, Blyden wrote of the exploits of the great West African Muslim warrior, Samory Toure. He was touched by the fact that "Negro Muslims claim a share in some of the most celebrated achievements of Islam" (Ibid., p 307). He tried earnestly to

pursuade British colonial regimes in West Africa while he was Director of Muslim Education in Sierra Leone that Islam was "the most effective educational force in Negro-land" (Ibid., p. 303).

The Blyden of the turn of the century had evolved considerably since his early days as principal of Alexander High School. Originally quite conventional, over time he realized the need for culturally specific education, adapted to African conditions and aspirations. Whereas he argued in his inaugural address as Professor at Liberia College in 1862 that Liberia did not require a peculiar education, by 1867 he was introducing Arabic into the college's curriculum. By 1870, Blyden seems to have concluded that the chief obstacle to African progress was the legacy of self-hate and inferiority. Blyden did not blame slavery but the "result of a deleterious education received directly or indirectly from white men" (Ibid., p. 217). Blyden proposed secular education (a West African university) run by "race-proud Black educators" (Ibid., p. 218). In 1872, he presented his proposal to William Grant, an African member of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone, and to the colonial governor, John Pope Hennessey. He reasoned:

> The man who, in the process of his eduction has not imbibed a large race feeling, in whom there is not developed pride of race, has failed in a great part of his education and whatever else may be acquired in Europe, it is evident that, for the Negro, race feeling must be kept in abeyance (Ibid., p 224).
>
> All educated Negroes suffer from a kind of slavery in many ways far more subversive of the real welfare of the race than the ancient physical fetters. The slavery of the mind is far more destructive than that of the body. But such is the weakness and imperfection of human nature that many even of those who bravely fought to remove the shackles from the body of the Negro transfer them to his mind (Ibid., p. 228).

Western education, though valuable in content was inappropriately

dispensed. During Blyden's 1881 inaugural address as President of Liberia College he cited the source of the problem, again relying on his vision of the African personality:

> The evil, it is considered, lies in the system and methods of European training to which Negroes are, everywhere in Christian lands, subjected, and which everywhere affects them unfavourably.Of a different race, different susceptibility, different bent of character from that of the European, they have been trained under influences in many respects adapted only to the Caucasian race . . . . In all English-speaking countries the mind of the intelligent Negro child revolts against the descriptions given in elementary books-geographies, travels, histories-of the Negro; but though he experiences an instinctive revulsion from these caricatures and misrepresentations, he is obliged to continue, as he grows in years, to study such pernicious teachings (Ibid., p. 234-5).

To counteract these influences, Blyden envisioned that Africans had to become self-reliant and advance by methods of their own. In contrast to many of his contemporaries Blyden believed that educated, indigenous Liberians were best qualified to suggests new molds for African institutions. He welcomed their participation in Liberian national life, noting:

> The Negro in the interior of Africa will make important contributions to the world's intellectual as well as material well being, for he will discover his own methods, and wrest from surrounding nature secrets which she can reveal only to him (Livingston, 1971. p. 203).

In practice as president of the College, Blyden pleaded for increased endowments from generous Westerners and scholarships for indigenous boys. He integrated the study of Arabic and native vernacular tongues into the existing curriculum in a matter of two short years (Ibid., p. 217). Moreover he made examinations public and invited indigenous chiefs. Livingston (1971) informs us that "Blyden was a natural teacher, and while people frequently disagreed with him, no one

disputed his pedagogical qualities" (p. 224).

Blyden believed in adult education and acted on the belief that the general public should continually be involved in forums and dialogues with educational leadership. Toward this end, Blyden did not neglect public addresses and lectures for the common man/woman. He also wrote pamphlets and founded a newspaper, The Negro[35] (Billingsley, 1970).

The Negro was used as the chief organ of young Sierra Leonian intellectuals, who at the beginning of the 1870's began agitating for a secular university in West Africa. Blyden's associates in this venture included Archdeacon G.J. Macaulay, James 'Holy' Johnson, the rector of Fourah Bay College Rev. G. Nicol and Africanus Horton. (Geiss, 1974) In 1873 the CMS, annoyed that its own proteges and graduates of the CMS Grammar School and Fourah Bay College initiated this agitation, launched a successful counter-offensive. An unsigned article in the CMS publication, Intelligencer, attacked everything that was precious to early Pan-African leaders: there was no African history; Egypt was not a cultural achievement of Africa; all important Africans were of foreign descent; all major achievements in Africa were the work of foreigners.

> When we look into the history of the negro races, considered apart from their prosecutors and oppressors, all that meets us is a blank. There seems no possibility of escaping it, that the Africa of the negro has no past (Geiss, 1974, p. 152).

Though the "rebellious" James Johnson was transferred to Nigeria the following year, and a secular institution with African continental and Diasporan professors was not created as per Blyden's dream, the controversy did push the CMS to respond to the demand for higher education. Instead of promoting autonomony, the CMS sought the

affiliation of Fourah Bay College with a British university. The University of Durham was selected since it was originally a Church of England foundation and the previous year had developed "an analogous relationship with Codrington College in Barbados, so that once again a kind of triangular Pan-African link was established" (Ibid.).

Almost twenty-five years later Blyden was again urging another colonial governer, Sir Gilbert Carter of Nigeria, to establish a training college in Lagos. July (1967) points out that it was "appropriate" that Blyden should speak forcefully regarding education in Africa. Ever concerned with leadership, Blyden believed a West African university was essential to avoid the pitfall of Africans studying abroad. When they did, invariably they returned with a strong dose of Eurocentrism which ill-equipped them for the role of dynamic leadership that Africa required.

Blyden emhasized the tragic case of the African in the United States to illustrate his point. Subjected to Western education, they found themselves cut off from their cultural roots and grafted onto a foreign way of life through which they could never peak. On the contrary these Africans who escaped the conditioning of Western education, not only endured racial segregation but welcomed it. Blyden argued:

> The Negro properly educated -- I mean educated on the basis of his own idiosyncrasy -- never complains against such discrimination. The racial feeling is strong within him; he understands, and is glad to have a place apart. It is only those who have been trained as White men in the schools and in the church who grieve at these discriminations (Blyden quoted in July, 1967 p. 223).

Moreover, Blyden averred that it was "the Negro of pure-blood who, because he was racially pure, was able better to understand the validity

of African culture and to strive for his right to live as a pure bred African under indiluted African conditions" (Ibid.).

Blyden and the Mulatto Question

In 1871 a correspondent of the African Times was moved to write of Blyden's beloved Liberia:

> There has been for a long time a great division amongst the black population and half-caste. The mulattoes look down on the blacks as inferior and claim the right to govern and want to have always a mulatto or half-caste as President.
> (Reade quoted in Livingston,1971,p.16,ff.1)

Blyden's relationship to the mulatto element of the African world seems to be the least understood and most frequently criticized. Geiss (1974) concedes that Blyden's influence on the continental and Diasporan African world is important but cautions that this is not necessarily positive because of his "hatred (sic) of mulattos and his contradictory ideas" (p. 29).

Yet Blyden at twenty-five had married a mulatto woman, Sarah Yates, who bore them three children. The marriage was a poor match. Though Blyden subsequently came to view her as "jealous, vindictive, talkative and indiscreet" (Livingston, 1971, p. 131), her chief flaw seems to have been her inability to support her husband's important work for the race.[36]

Some of Blyden's troubles emerged from the publication, unknown to Blyden at the time, of a personal letter. Somehow, correspondence written to William Coppinger of the American Colonization Society was published as a scientific study, "On the Mixed Races in Liberia" in the 1870 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute (Livingston, 1971). The

article alleged that given the mortality statistics of mulattos in Monrovia, they were likely genetically inferior to Blacks and whites. Further Blyden suggested that "American" philanthropy was wasted educating mulattos at the college and Alexander High School. "Coppinger himself mailed a copy to the American Colonization Society (A.C.S.) agent, H.Dennis, a leading mulatto" (Ibid., p 140).

Outraged, a mob dragged Blyden through the streets of Monrovia with a noose around his neck. Had not his friend and former ex-president Daniel B. Warner intervened, Blyden would have probably been killed. The mob was quieted and Warner facilitated Blyden's escape to nearby Sierra Leone. Several years later Blyden returned and within a decade, he was president of Liberia College.

His disdain for mulattos and Western educated Blacks has been reduced to vitriolic hate and frequently compared to Marcus Garvey. (Livingston, 1971; Geiss, 1974). Before the final tally is made, the role of mulattos in the political unfolding continental and Diasporan peoples needs careful review.[37]

July (1967) points out that Blyden was committed to racial endogamy and cites one of Blyden's examples of the effects of racial dilution. Blyden, who disavowed the purely political struggle because he believed moral and spritual conquests more ennobling, characterized this trait as part of the African personality. Samory Toure Blyden averred, was a pure-blooded African who sought at the height of his conquests, the surrender of his territory to British rule because "the Negro is by nature a peaceful man disinterested in political ascendancy." In contrast El Hadj Omar and other Tucolors tainted with European blood,

became the leaders of a series of fanatical destructive holy wars.

It seems that what is consistently overlooked as a context is Blyden's intense devotion to the vindication of the African race via the establishment of a model nation on the African continent. Generally Northern, "light skinned" African descendants in the United States (mulattos) preferred the indignities meted out by "America" to Africa.[38] This Blyden found incomprehensible and infuriating. What Blyden seems to have understood, and what Frazier, (1956) Garvey, 1977; Hare, 1965; Madhubuti, 1977, 1979; Nkrumah, 1970; Williams, 1974; Woodson, 1933 subsequently articulated was that the preoccupation with the imitation of Western forms and values was a deterrent to African racial development. The tremendous weight of the color bar during the nineteenth and early twentieth century tended to deny Africans of darker hues the folly of this fantasy. Mulattos, quadroons octoroons, etc., benefitted in proportion to their ability to absorb Eurocentrism.

Blyden's Legacy

Billingsley (1970) concluded that:

> Blyden made his contribution to the world through religion and reason in the classroom and the community; in pamphlets and in politics; in scholarship and society; through education and agitation; through analysis and advocacy; in local affairs and in international affairs; through successes and failures; in his life and death (p. 5).

Billingsley (1970) also identified four major channels through which Blyden sought to develop the connectedness of the African experience. Essentially Billingsley saw Blyden as an "ambassador extraordinary" for sixty-two years from the time he landed in Monrovia in 1850 until his

death in 1912. He was Africa's Black diplomat to the ruling elites in Liberia and Sierra Leone, from those groups to the indigenous officials and peoples, from all West Africa to Diaspora Africans and simultaneously an erudite representative to all whites from the Black world. In every endeavor, Blyden utilized the resources of the Christian church.

Lynch (1967) surmises that from the 1870's Blyden worked incessantly to create a sense of united West Africa. By the 1880's he had achieved "an intellectual ascendancy" in West Africa and many looked to him for leadership. Lynch (1967) criticizes Blyden's seeming contradictions: though he staunchly urged the retention of traditional culture, he was "westernized . . . . and never seemed even to have adopted African dress" (p. 246). As he aged he evinced a distinct partiality for Islam, but never became a Muslim. Regrettably, he fatalistically accepted European imperialism and denounced the political aspirations of younger African intellectuals. This cost him dearly as he was forced to live in "comparative physical seclusion during the last five years of his life" (p. 244).

Though Blyden's dream of a West African university did not come true in his lifetime, his vision planted the seed in the minds of younger Africans. To date, there are university level institutions on the African continent; none embody Blyden's vision of a Pan-African center of learning and research where elements of the "African personality" would be extolled. Still, Blyden's thought and analysis is a firm rock in the edifice of Pan-Africanism (Billingsley, 1970; Geiss, 1974; Livingston, 1971; Lynch, 1967) and a pillar in Afrocentric Studies. His

ideas were modified and expanded by Garvey, Padmore, Nkrumah and Casely-Hayford and internalized by Black students clamoring for Black Studies.

Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford

The makings of a Nationalist

Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford was born on September 28, 1866 into

> mulatto family which had been employed by the British civil service and because of its early attainment of education, had formed family connections throughout British West Africa (McGuire, 1974, p. 33).

His Fanti name which he rarely used was Ekra Agyiman.[39] "His father was the Reverend Joseph de Graft Hayford whose Fante names were Kwamina Affua which the European missionaries changed into Hayford" (Ofosu-Appiah, 1974, p. 1). He was born at a time when British administrative control was minimal (indirect rule) and there was great opportunity for Africans. The young Hayford attended Wesleyan Boys' High School in Cape Coast (Ghana) and spent two years at Fourah Bay College in Freetown. He taught at Wesleyan High for a while and was later appointed principal. Ofosu-Appiah (1975) points out that at the time teaching was considered a "noble" profession and notes that "most of the early nationalists took to teaching at some stage in their careers" (p.1).

Casely Hayford's interests were eclectic and he acted on his interest in journalism, working first with an uncle and later as the editor of the Gold Coast Echo. The West African press was evoked as an

instrument to arouse national consciousness. Often short-lived, the papers engaged in polemics, attacking the colonial system, its administrators and other personalities.

The law eventually attracted Casely-Hayford and he was apprenticed as a clerk to a European lawyer at Cape Coast. In 1893 he went to England to study and was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1896. Soon after, he returned to the Gold Coast and settled in Acra. While in England he married a Gold Coast woman from Accra, Beatrice Pinnock who died after the birth of a second child in 1902. It is she who he refers to in his novel, Ethiopia Unbound (1911). His first book, Gold Coast Native Institutions (1903) was dedicated to her. Later he married a Sierra Leonian woman, Gladys Smith. From the marriages he had two children (Ofosu-Appiah, 1975).

As a lawyer, Casely-Hayford was destined to become a significant part of the burgeoning early nationalist movement. He returned home just before Lands Act of 1897 controversy climaxed. He was asked by the Aborigines' Rights Protective Society to prepare a brief contesting the proposed legislation. July (1967) observed that Casely-Hayford accumulated such copious material as to distinguish himself as a student of traditional society as well as "one of the most energetic informed advocates of African rights in the face of British colonial administration" (p. 435).

This was the time in history when "the sun never set on the British empire." Ofosu-Appiah (1975) suggests that the idea of empire as a noble achievement was accepted by all the Gold Coast nationalists.

Even though they wished to manage their own affairs and to be

> treated as human beings by the Europeans, with them the question of independence outside the British empire did not arise (p.3).

This accounts for why Casely-Hayford could author a book entitled Gold Coast Native Institutions with Thoughts upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti (1903). Ofosu-Appiah (1975) believes that the early nationalists rationalized this acceptance of imperialism because they thought there was something to be learned from the British and their guidance would enable Africans to modernized indigenous institutions.

> The first task of the nationalists was therefore to prove to their British masters that, though they were inferior in several ways, they were capable of advancement in material civilization and intellectual attainments (Ibid., p. 8).

A two-pronged offensive was launched by the nationalists: formal education and constitutional development. Of interest to this study are Casely-Hayford's ideas concerning West African education.

A dream called Mfantsipim

During Casely-Hayford's prime, there was no secular institution of higher education. He joined with other members of the Legislative Council to press for the establishment of Achimota.[40] His novel, Ethiopia Unbound (1911) outlined his vision of a West African university. Casely-Hayford believed that Africa needed "education for the highest professional and technical proficiency which yet would not lose sight of African national racial heritage, African social instincts and patterns of thought" (July, 1967, p. 448). Since the middle of the nineteenth century July (1967) affirms, it was accepted

that Western culture was the medium required to modernize West Africa and the Westernized African was to play a pivotal role in this development. The role of Christianity in fostering these views has been discussed.[41]

Primarily active at the bar and in the press, Casely-Hayford's visions of appropriate higher education for Africans are drawn from Ethiopia Unbound (1911). Dubbed an "intellectual autobiography" (July, 1967, p. 433), Ethiopia Unbound (1911) communicated Afrocentric ideals and values. It especially attempted to speak to the appropriate direction for the emerging Western educated elites. Casely-Hayford concentrated on the university because:

> to educate the youths of the country properly depended upon trained teachers, and that it was the work of a university to provide such training. (quoted in Ofosu-Appiah, p.9)

Casely-Hayford believed that such an educated intellegentsia would compete with the best of the United States, Europe's and Japan's universities.

Significantly the novel's protagonist Kwamankra is destined to teach at a national university founded by the Aborigenes Society. The people did not depend upon endowments from the rich or philantropic but from the villages and towns throughout the countryside. The innovation that was going to revolutionize the curriculum was the use of local languages. This practice, Casely-Hayford observed, had contributed to the educational advancement of certain countries.

> It was recognized that the best part of teaching must be done in the people's own language, and soon several textbooks of known authority had,with the kind permission of authors and publishers, been translated into Fanti, thereby making the progress of the student rapid and sound (p.17).

Language was but one aspect of a culture, or national identity which Casely-Hayford cherished and wished to retain.

Likewise, indigenous styles and garb were to be encouraged. Foreign imitation, he averred constituted a national death.

> He (Kwamankra) was foremost in bringing forward schemes to prevent the work of the University becoming a mere foreign imitation. He kept constantly before the Committee from the first the fact that no people could despise its own language, customs and institutions and hope to avoid national death (p.17 , emphasis added).

The influence of Blyden was not lost on Casely-Hayford's generation. Since Blyden, many Africans argued that a slavish adherence to European curricula and norms would restore a slavery of the mind more deadly and insidious than physical slavery. Using the National Congress of British West Africa[42] Casely-Hayford urged the establishment of a secular West African university, compulsory education in the larger communities, Africanization of staff and teacher pensions. He insisted however that these reforms were fruitless without the ultimate objective. The ultimate objective was to develop the unique aspects of the African. "On educational questions Casely-Hayford was a wholehearted disciple of Blyden" (July, 1967, p. 448).

Echoes of Blyden and beyond

Casely-Hayford was a pioneer in Afrocentric thought who shared much of his theoretical space with Blyden. He sharply criticized European administration and policies in West Africa and consistently urged the retention of Africanity.

Ofosu-Appiah (1975) declared Casely-Hayford

> a pioneer in what has come to be known as African Studies, for his interest in the African heritage led him to found the

> a pioneer in what has come to be known as African Studies, for his interest in the African heritage led him to found the Gold Coast National Research in Sekondi with branches in Cape Coast and Accra. One of the aims of his organization was to change the black man's thinking about himself, since the black man was inclined to accept everything that the white man said about him (p. 19).

Like Blyden, Casely-Hayford believed that Western education:

> denationalized and emasculated the African, while the use of Europeans as teachers inevitably promoted false standards and confused educational objectives. Casely-Hayford wanted a university to serve West Africa, but significantly he recommended that it be placed inland away from the corrupting foreign influences . . . he insisted on the study of Africa as a primary responsibility, and an approach to pedagogy from an African point of view. History, therefore, would be worldwide in its context, but would deal centrally with Africa's role in the world's affairs. Stress would be laid on Africa as the cradle of philosophy and religion, science studied with an emphasis on examples drawn from Africa's storehouse. Professorships of African language would be needed, for character was formed in considerable measure through environment and language was one of the most subtly influential of enviromental factors. Yet such a university be a centre to attract students from the world over, let the study of African institutions spread to the Negro universities of America. Clearly the products of this university would be men - 'no effete, mongrel product of foreign systems (July 1967, pp. 448-449).

These ideas are clearly congruent with Blyden and show Pan-African concerns. Casely-Hayford surpassed Blyden however, and critiqued the West's conceptual framework as a basis for societal organization. Whereas Blyden's posture had been one of defending the race, July (1967) saw Casely-Hayford's thrust as one of attack.

> His indictment of European colonial rule implied a moral superiority on the part of the black man which in turn suggested that in the final reckoning before God or the judgement of history, Africa and not Europe would prove to have the greater force for human progress. Europe's weakness was her preoccupation with the material (p. 438, emphasis added).

Casely-Hayford believed, in the fundamental equality of all human

beings and that Africans had contributed uniquely to the idea and organization of family life. The spiritual domain was Africa's special proclivity. Pure altruism which was believed closely aligned to spirituality was found only in Africa.

Casely-Hayford believed like Blyden, that each race was obliged to pursue its own genius rather than another's alien standards. For Africa, the traditional village life with its contemplative existence, ancestor worship and simplified spiritualitly comprised this genius. Europe on the other hand was fraught with frantic bustle, ethical fragmentation and worship of materialism. In strong terms he averred

> You cannot think great thought in Africa by adopting wholesale the hurry and bustle and the way of life of the European. Nature did not intend it. Those who attempt it end in trouble. Nay, worse. It means death. For even the dual man cannot serve both God and Mammon. And no worse burden could be imposed by civilization on African nationality than the burden of a double - life, the arch-enemy of truth (Casely-Hayford quoted in July 1967, p. 437).

Worthy of African emulation however, were the Japanese. Geiss (1974) maintains that Casely-Hayford was the first African intellectual to refer to the spectacular victory won by Japan in 1904-05 over Russia. Geiss suggests that the Japanese example of an accelerated process of evolution had a galvanizing effect upon Africans worldwide. Casely-Hayford's protagonist Kwamankra sees the Japanese as brave members of a "coloured race" who are "hostile to the Whites' claim to a world monopoly of wealth and power" (p.118).

Casely-Hayford's ire was aroused against Africans so assimilated into Western culture that they ignored their responsibilities to less educated brothers and sisters. He was very clear that "the talented

tenth in every black society must be given the chance to improve the human conditions of their people" (Ofosu-Appiah, 1975, p. 21). Ethiopia Unbound (1911) also dealt with the necessity of Africans shedding their inferiority complexes and joining together in Pan-African unity to voice their views to the world. Ofosu-Appiah (1975) argues that Casely-Hayford was the first African on the African Continent to stress the idea of Pan-Africanism and the African way of life which some call the "African personality".

Accordingly Casely-Hayford had no room for the phenomenon of "double consciousness" espoused by DuBois in Souls of Black Folk. Casely Hayford (1911) averred:

> One of the most pathetic passages in the history of human thought is the remarkable work of an Ethiopian 'Souls of Black Folk' . . . . It is apparent that Mr. Du Bois writes from an American standpoint surrounded by an American atmosphere . . . . To be born an African in America . . . . is to be entagled in conditions which give no room for the assertions of the highest manhood. African manhood demands that the Ethiopian should not seek his opportunity or ask for elbow room from the white man but that he should create the one or the other for himself (p. 179-182).

His vision of the extended Pan-African family and its future orientation are encapasulated in the following quote, which is classic Casely-Hayford:

> . . . . the average Afro-American citizen of the United States has lost absolute touch with the past of his race, and is helplessly and hopelessly groping in the dark for affinities that are not natural and for effects for which there are neither national nor natural causes . . . . it is not so much Afro-Americans that we want as Africans or Ethiopians, sojourning in a strange land, who out of a full heart and a full knowledge can say: If it forget thee, Ethiopia, let my right hand forget its cunning . . . . How extraordinary would be the spectacle of this huge Ethiopian race . . . . some millions of men . . . . having imbibed all that is best in Western culture in the land of their

> oppressors, yet remaining true to racial instincts and inspiration, customs and institutions, much as did the Israelites of old in captivity (pp. 172-3).

Casely-Hayford's role as protagonist in the engineering of West African nationalism is best remembered (Wilson, 1969; Kimble, 1963; McGuire, 1974). Yet, at the same time he was part of an international network among African intelligentsia and was in direct communication with Duse Mohammed Ali, Garvey, DuBois, Agbebi, Blyden, Washington and Aggrey (McGuire, 1974). He was a chief contributor to the polemics argued by Africans on both sides of the Atlantic asserting the positive uniqueness of Black people. His dream of Mfantsipim National University embodied his plan to foster the development of an intensely nationalist elite which would conserve the African or "Ethiopian" nationality as he sometimes called it, while selectively permitting modernization.

Carter Godwin Woodson

Youth to Maturity

The century in which Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Carter G. Woodson were born, the nineteenth, was probably the most devastating in the history of African peoples. When the century began, the vast majority of Africans were brutally enslaved throughout the Western hemisphere in a system of oppression and profitmaking unequaled in the history of the world. Even though slavery was abolished in 1834 in the British West Indies, 1848 in the French and Danish West Indies, it continued a vigorous life in the United States, Cuba and Brazil.[43] Despite legal prohibition in the mid-nineteenth century, the slave trade reached new

peaks, leaving in its wake, mass genocide and a continent raped and drained of fertile human resources (Lynch, 1967).

So entrenched was slavery in the United States that it took the Civil War to usher in its downfall. The tiny group of Africans known as "free Negroes" were scarcely better off than the chattel slaves. The North, fearful of an influx of this unwanted population vied with the South in making their lives difficult and generally miserable as measures were constantly enacted to facilitate their return to slavery. After emancipation, the Africans continued to be treated and viewed as inferior.

During the later half of the nineteenth century, the United States changed from a rural agriculturally-based economy to an urban industrialized one. Unlike white workers who participated fully in this transformation, even after Emancipation and Reconstruction, Blacks were mere onlookers. The seating of the "principal architect of the consolidation of white supremacy in the South" (Logan, 1970), Rutherford B. Hayes, in the White House in 1877 marked the close of the Reconstruction. Racism excluded the emancipated slaves from burgeoning industry which had come to be thought of as the panacea for the social blemish of the poor white on the one hand, and a vehicle for the absorption and mobility for the wave of arriving immigrants on the other. The optimistic Civil Rights Act of 1875 was declared unconstitutional less than a decade later. Relegated to the sharecropping system of perpetual debt and poverty, many Blacks were lured to the promise of the North. By 1879 the movement of Blacks away from the South was so intense that it was called the "exodus" (Redkey, 1969).

Carter Woodson's parents, James Woodson and Anne Eliza Riddle, were two of those emancipated from the "covenant with death and agreement with hell."[44] Both were born into slavery. It was a time of decision for Blacks in general as the "exodus" from the South began to weaken Southern economy. This then, was the social milieu in which an almost Christmas baby, Carter Godwin, was delivered to Anne and James Woodson in rural Buckingham County, Virginia on December 19, 1875. One of nine children born to the union of James and Anne, this manchild was named for his maternal uncle, Carter Harrison Barnett (Woodson, 1944).

Relatively little is known of the details of Carter's early life near New Canton, Virginia. However, given the material conditions that Blacks faced after Reconstruction, the pendulum swing of repression accompanied by the rise of white terrorist groups, it can be surmised that life was perimetered by the "color line."

It is known that Carter worked on his family's farm with his siblings and that from time to time he attended the local school run by his uncles. Farm life demanded vigorous labor and school attendance was necessarily limited to rainy days or other times when the children's labor was not needed. In later years, he wrote of this experience, "I had the good fortune of being well grounded in the fundamentals taught in the rural schools of my native home by my two uncles" (Romero, 1971, p. 16). As Carter approached maturity, due to poverty and lack of opportunity in rural Virginia, he and a brother, Robert, set out for West Virginia where there was work laying railroad ties. That West Virginia was more inviting to the freed Blacks is borne out by population statistics which showed that the Black population increased from 17,980

in 1879 to 43,499 in 1890 (Woodson, 1944, p. 116).

The literacy that Carter had picked up during his earlier years proved to be an advantage as he later noted:

> When Oliver Jones (an old Union Civil War veteran who was illiterate) learned that I could read, he soon engaged me to inform him and his friends as to what was in the daily newspaper. . . . Whenever a veteran of the Civil War came out as a candidate for office or achieved distinction, I had to look him up in the books. Jones was especially anxious to hear about these veterans, who, like himself, were in battle array to attack Lee's army the morning he surrendered. This service for a friend was decidedly educational for me. (Romero, 1971, p. 20)

It has even been suggested by one Woodson biographer that it was at this point that Woodson's genesis as a historian took place (Ibid.).

Carter and Robert spent only a few months in 1892 employed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Company. They moved on to Fayette County near Huntington, West Virginia and went to work in the coal mines.

Carter worked the sooty mines for three years until he had saved enough money to return to school and earn the high school diploma. A serious student, Carter completed the four year program at Frederick Douglass High School of Huntington, in only two, graduating in 1897. A factor contributing to his success was the inspiring role model of his namesake uncle, Carter Harrison Barnett who was faculty by this time at Douglass High. In his "Recollections," Woodson (1944) acknowledged the positive influences of Uncle Carter and his brother, Nelson, who was one of the founders and early pastors of the church where Woodson was a devout worshipper. It was even speculated in the family that Carter himself might pursue the ministry (Romero, 1971).

After high school graduation, Woodson was still anxious to pursue additional education. Since ignorance and illiteracy were compulsory

during slavery, schooling constituted a "forbidden fruit." Upon Emancipation, many Blacks doggedly believed that schooling was the panacea for the stain of racism and this probably influenced Woodson. Seven years before the passage of the Day Act which outlawed integrated education in Kentucky, Woodson enrolled at Berea College. Berea, which was always remembered rather fondly by Woodson, was John Fee's contribution to the abolitionist movement prior to the Civil War (Peck, 1955). In those days it served as a center of abolitionist activity and offered education to a few young Black children whose families found refuge on Fee's estate. As such, it was Kentucky's first and only integrated school. After the Civil War, it was rather generously funded by the Freedmen's Bureau and reorganized as a college. Still, it also maintained its preparatory academy and serviced many poor whites and Blacks in the area (Romero, 1971).

Upon enrollment, Woodson was placed in the preparatory division at what as an equivalent of the junior year of high school. Romero (1971) states that his transcript showed that he earned many advanced credits through testing by his professors and that he stayed in residence only two-thirds of his first year's enrollment. Probably due to financial pressures, the years 1898 to 1900 found Woodson on his first teaching assignment in Winona, West Virginia. Before returning to Berea, Woodson earned a teaching certificate for the Huntington Public Schools.

During the period 1901 to 1903 Woodson attended Berea College part-time and attended summer school at the University of Chicago. Though the records are sketchy at this point, it seems that Woodson was also instructor and principal at his alma mater, Frederick Douglass High

School. Romero (1971) notes that "although Berea was not academically on par with the University of Chicago, it had specific requirements for graduation and Woodson met them all by 1902" (p. 25). At twenty-eight, with a degree of Bachelor of Literature from Berea, Woodson was a bachelor. A scholarly workaholic who never married, evidence suggests that he enjoyed the company and attention of women. A man of strong likes and dislikes, he preferred that "Negro women not straighten their hair." The likelihood of Carter meeting a Black woman who was similarly inclined and equally proud in the heyday of Madame C. J. Walker was slim. Remembered as a charmer with the ladies, Woodson always remarked in later years that he was "married to his association."[45]

Nationally, the turn of the century meant that the United States was reaping its imperialist booty and was in a thither as to how to administer the latest spoils of the (Cuban) Spanish-American War which included Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

> President McKinley was finally forced to call upon the Almighty for divine revelation for help in determining the fate of the "little brown brother" across the ocean. Much of the attendant newspaper coverage at the time dwelled on the assuming the "white man's burden," the prospects of converting the Igorotes and the various states of savagery [sic] that existed among the people. (Bailey, quoted in Romero, 1971, p. 30)

Annexation of the islands was justified by a plan of "educating the Filipinos for whom God also died" (Ibid.). This insidious form of cultural imperialism called for missionary zeal to help the "poor little brown savage." After graduating from Berea and while principal of Frederick Douglass High School, in 1903, Woodson applied to the War Department for an overseas teaching position. He was highly recommended by the Superintendent of Huntington Public Schools who referred to him as

"an excellent scholar, a superior teacher and disciplinarian, an irreproachable Christian man whose influence over the young is very salutary" (Romero, 1971, p. 34).

In contrast to other studies, this one speculates the view that Woodson's chief motivation for Philippine service were his "religious convictions" or a "desire to teach 'deprived people.'" He was already working with the oppressed and this author suggests that the relatively high salary offered these War Department employees made the opportunity much more appealing. This author would also suggest that the lure of overseas travel as a civilian at a time when few Blacks could escape "America" was considerable. Woodson sailed via Hong Kong and arrived in Manila on his birthday, December 19, 1903 (Romero, 1971, p. 37).

Pedagogical Interests and Further Study

It was at this juncture that Woodson began to pay more attention to pedagogy, and the implications of a cross-cultural situation in that process. His first assignment was teaching the new colonial language, English, to a group of Spanish-speaking Filipinos. It was this challenge that prompted him to enroll in a correspondence course for the study of Spanish and French, completing the former in nine months and the latter in one year. Later Woodson (1933) wrote, "During his life the author has seen striking examples of how people should or should not be taught" (p. 152) referring to his Philippine experience, and emphasized the importance of the teacher's familiarity with the culture. This was an idea Woodson was to return to many times. As Woodson the educator became educated by the Filipinos, he absorbed the value of utilizing folklore as

a teaching strategy.

Though geographically outside of the United States, the tentacles of racism stretched abroad along with U.S. imperialism and paternalism. There are records of Woodson filing charges against a Filipino colonial also employed by the U.S. War Department though details are sketchy. According to one Woodson biographer,[46] Woodson was the brunt of a racial slur, and never being one to take kindly to insult, pursued redress of grievance through appropriate channels up to the Governor's Office. This incident was accompanied by Woodson's request for a transfer. However, some months after the incident occurred in 1904 Woodson received a telegram stating that all guilt in the situation had been attributed to the other party.[47] Before leaving the Philippines, Woodson was reassigned to Pangasinan on the island of Luzon. Populated heavily by a peasant class, this island was not unlike the friends and neighbors Woodson left behind. It must have appealed to him quite a bit because he seriously considered having his family join him.[48]

Carter Woodson stayed on in the Philippines until 1906 when he resigned. 1907 was spent traveling abroad while maintaining the link with academia via correspondence study at the University of Chicago. During his travels he visited the national libraries of Spain, France and England. He wrote,

> I spent a year travelling and studying in Asia and Europe. While in India, I made a special study of their school systems. Not a little of my time was spent in Palestine, Egypt, Greece and Italy. I was in Europe about six months. For one semester I was a special student of European history in the University of Paris. (Romero, 1971, p. 47)

It was during these travels that Woodson came in contact with an abundance of unpublished materials on Africa and her children.

Back in the United States, the white elite was busy courting Booker T. Washington and his ideology following the famous Atlanta Cotton Exposition Address of 1895. A rift developed between W. E. B. DuBois and Washington concerning the focus of Black education. Internationally, the first Pan-African Congress had been called and DuBois raised his voice against European domination of Africa. Though this period did not have immediately visible effects upon Woodson, attention to these issues surfaced later.

Returning to the United States in the autumn of 1907, Woodson enrolled for Master's level study at the University of Chicago. Since the University of Chicago found him deficient in required subjects, he had to re-enroll in the undergraduate program before going on to graduate .pa work. At the graduate level, Woodson began to quench his thirst for history which was undoubtedly fueled by his research and travels. After nearly six years of study, Woodson was able to finish another bachelor's degree in March 1908 and the Master's in August of the same year.[49]

At this time Woodson reapplied for admission to the Civil Service and having distinguished himself in his studies, applied to Harvard University. His subsequent acceptance made him the second person of African descent to study at the graduate level in the almost three hundred years of Harvard's existence. Admission to the creme de la creme of white academia was no mean feat for a Black man, particularly one of such humble beginnings like Woodson. Survival in what is generally agreed to have been a hostile, if subtle atmosphere required extraordinary fortitude and self-esteem. Carter Woodson spent the requisite one year in residence at College House, during 1908. "During

that year Woodson was enrolled in six history courses and one in government; he attained a B average in all of his subjects and met the requirements for candidacy for the doctorate" (Romero, 1971, p. 67).

In 1908 Harvard's History Department had a roster of distinguished scholars. The prolific Edward E. Channing, Albert Bushnell Hart and Frederick Jackson Turner eventually constituted Woodson's dissertation committee. Woodson also studied European history with Professor Charles Gross, medieval and ecclesiastical history with Ephraim Emerton and W. B. Munro. At no time during his stay at Harvard did he write on Blacks (Romero, 1971).

A closer look at the polemics of Channing and Turner may help explain why Woodson turned out a dissertation "free from racial distinction." In contrast to DuBois whose theme explored the African experience, Woodson's study met Channing and Turner on their grounds and was congruent with the prevailing views in U.S. historiography. Woodson's dissertation dealt with the political severing of ties between Virginia and West Virginia, the Civil War and the expansion of the West. Frederick Jackson Turner's ascendancy and subsequent enshrinement in U.S. historiography was largely due to his thesis that the dominating theme in U.S. history was the expansion of the "frontier."

The idea of the frontier as the focal point in U.S. history may have held appeal for Woodson since his parents had migrated westward. Turner and his cronies called for "a new history" written from the standpoint of "the fourth estate--the great mass of the people." Yet, this mass systematically excluded those then known as "negroes." In fact, "the new history" was indifferent to the exploitation of "negroes," native

Americans and any other people of color. The assumption was that the frontier, either as place or process was "culture free." In so doing, "the new historians" revealed a cultural chauvinism and racist bias.

The preeminence of Turner, Hart and Channing in U.S. historiography cannot be underestimated. This study suggests that Woodson as the second person of African descent to endure the test of Harvard's graduate school may have had considerable pressure exerted upon him not to follow in DuBois's footsteps with the "racial theme." The likelihood that Woodson would have been able to get a dissertation approved that did not echo his "eminences" seems slim. Perhaps Carter Woodson was more adept at "playing the game" that history has estimated.

Though he had not completed his Harvard studies, after the academic year 1908-09 Woodson accepted a teaching position at the M Street High School in Washington, D.C. This enabled him to have proximity to the Library of Congress to complete his dissertation research. Woodson taught history, French and Spanish at the M Street School for nine years until 1918 when he was appointed principal of the Armstrong Manual High School. He served there for one year before going on to Howard University as Head of the Graduate School and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

In June 1912, Woodson was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy from Harvard University. His dissertation, "The Disruption of Virginia" was never published because Sectionalism in Virginia 1776-1861 by Charles V. Ambler appeared in print shortly before Woodson's defense. Armed with the terminal degree, Woodson turned to his primary goal, "to turn his historical training and preparation to the best racial account" (Wesley,

1951, p. 20). Just three years after completion of the dissertation, and while still teaching at the M Street School, Woodson paid his own publication and circulation costs for his first book, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (1919). Woodson later wrote,

> The Negro faces another stone wall when he presents scientific productions to the publishing houses. They may not be prejudiced but they are not interested in the Negro. We understand that the more serious the work, the less chance it has for reaching a large reading public. Yet scholarship must be advanced by these strictly scientific works. This represents a very dark prospect for the rapidly increasing number of young men and women who are prepared for creative work but receive no encouragement whatsoever. In this way the cause of Negro scholarship has dreadfully suffered in spite of the one-sided methods of foundations in trying to broaden the minds of Negroes teaching in their own schools. What is the use of knowing things if they can not be published to the world? If the Negro is to settle down to publishing merely what others permit him to bring out, the world will never know what the race has thought and felt and attempted and accomplished and the story of the Negro will perish with him. (Woodson, 1940, pp. 422-423)

This autobiographical quote reveals much of Woodson's discontent with racism, which was not buffered in those days by his acquisition of the Harvard degree. Segregation was very clear and the Negro intelligentsia then had to sink or swim in their own communities. The above quote evinces that Woodson's brush with racism in publishing impacted upon his decision a few months later to organize independently the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

By no accounts a man driven by impulse, Woodson probably mulled over the idea of founding another Negro historical society long before the Association was launched. Decidedly, Woodson was influenced by the prior efforts of the Negro Historical Society, and by Alexander Crummell's Negro Academy. The Academy's purpose was stated by Crummell: "undertaking the civilization of the Negro race in the U.S. by the

scientific processes of literature, art and philosophy" (Moss, 1981). Thus the Academy sought to enable Blacks to claim arenas of intellectual production.

Woodson envisioned expanding this idea and it appears that he used his insight to determine the weaknesses of the Academy and outmaneuver them in his own creation. For one thing, as a society of letters, the Academy neither sought nor had appeal to the masses of Black people. Though it aimed at the "scientific processes of literature, art etc." its tone was decidedly philosophical. In addition, in the Academy's challenge of European scholarship as the only worthy one of record, it did not enlist interracial cooperation. So on September 9, 1915 when Woodson engineered a meeting with G. C. Hall, J. E. Stamps, W. B. Hartgrove and A. L. Jackson at the Wabash Avenue YMCA in Chicago to launch the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (hereafter referred to as ASNLH), they committed themselves to

> the collection of sociological and historical data on the Negro, the study of the peoples of African blood, the publishing of books in this field, and the promotion of harmony between the races by acquainting the one with the other.(Woodson,1925,p.598)

Contributing also to ASNLH's genesis might have been Woodson's disillusionment with the NAACP. Woodson joined the NAACP soon after its establishment in 1909, becoming a member of the Washington, D.C. branch. But by January 28 (less than a month's time) he had expressed his dissatisfaction with the way things were going to the branch chairman, Archibald Grimke. Insight into Woodson can be gained by examination of his letter to Grimke. Woodson proposed that:

1) the branch secure an office for a center to which persons may report whatever concerns the Negro race and from which

the Association may extend its operations into every part of the city

2) that the Association divide the city into districts, for each of which a canvasser would be appointed to enlist members and obtain subscriptions to Crisis. (Woodson papers, ASNLH)

He even included the daring proposal of "diverting patronage from business establishments which do not treat both races alike." Discontent to merely propose work to be executed by others, Woodson offered to become one of twenty-five canvassers of such a program and pay the office's first month's rent. It seems clear by these suggestions that Woodson sought to put the NAACP within the grasp of the masses. It is not surprising that the moderate NAACP did not welcome the proposals. Woodson was later moved to write to Grimke:

> I am not afraid of being sued by white businessmen. In fact, I should welcome such a lawsuit. It would do the cause much good. Let us banish fear. We have been in this mental state for three centuries. I am a radical. I am ready to act if I can find brave men to help me. (Ibid.)

September of 1915 found Woodson in Chicago, using the University of Chicago's library for research and residing at the YMCA. On the eve of September 9, Woodson encouraged an informal gathering of friends. The meeting was convened at the Wabash Avenue YMCA in the office of Alexander L. Jackson who was the Executive Secretary of the Y. The Association for Negro Life and History was the meeting's outcome. Woodson returned to his position at M Street High School and in less than a month the organization was incorporated.

Woodson says in those early days the ASNLH had no financial backing and little moral support. There arose from within doubts as to whether the ASNLH would do any more than duplicate the efforts of others. He

wrote that not "even the coworkers of the founder could exactly understand his purpose." But singlehandedly, in January of 1916, Dr. Woodson launched the Journal of Negro History to the shock of its Executive Board who had not been consulted. It is reported that one member did resign and others threatened to do so. But Woodson felt that it was necessary to launch the Journal to give a concrete example of what he had in mind. He did so with $400 of his own money, though by so doing, he contracted a debt for the ASNLH which had not a single cent in its treasury. This detachment and singlemindedness of purpose was later to characterize him as eccentric, moody, sensitive and touchy.

The instant success of the journal quelled the ire of the Executive Board as libraries, schools and renowned individuals subscribed. Among the journal's first endorsers were Charles W. Chesnutt, Helen Keller, J. E. Springarn, Professor Edward Channing, and Oswald Garrison Vilard. During the first year, the journal was circulated on all five continents and began its second year with a circulation of 4,000.

The academic year 1919-20 found Woodson as Dean of the Graduate School at Howard University. This tenure was short-lived as Woodson dared to be openly critical of Howard's white president, J. Stanley Durkee. By the end of the academic year, Woodson was notified that the continuation of his employment was contingent upon whether or not he was willing to make amends and apologize in writing to the President of the University. Logan (1969) reports that since he refused to do so, his employment was terminated. It is unlikely that severance from Howard affected Woodson deeply as he was of course, simultaneously engaged in work for the ASNLH.

The ASNLH

The impoverished masses of Blacks and the few highly educated were unable to financially support Woodson's undertaking. Woodson turned to white philanthropists for funding. Six years after the Association was founded, he obtained a grant of $25,000 from the Carnegie Corporation, $37,500 and another $25,000 from the Laura Spelman Memorial Fund and later, $32,500 from the Rockefeller Foundation (Woodson, 1926). As substantial as these amounts may seem, Woodson pointed out that during the Association's first twenty-five years, it did not have as much at its disposal as some learned societies had for one year. During the first seven years of the Association's existence, Woodson never received a salary and frequently made up the difference between what was available in the treasury and what was needed. Upon Woodson's death, DuBois, a frequent critic, was moved to write:

> it is probable that he lived many years on not more than one thousand and probably never as much as five thousand. . . . He concentrated his time, energy and his little money in building up his enterprise. (DuBois, 1950, p. 23)

By 1930, the donations from wealthy white philanthropists and foundations began to decline. Woodson (1944) attributed this to his persistent offensive against white supremacy and his policy of "telling the whole truth and nothing by the truth, regardless of whom it affected." Relentlessly, Woodson attempted to organize Blacks and enlist their support.

In February 1926 the Black Omega Psi Phi Fraternity invited Woodson to design an event to laud the literary achievements of Blacks. Woodson expanded it into a celebration of Black history and the first Negro History Week was born. It was immediately successful and led to a demand

for a simplified organ which would regularly publish facts about African people. Eleven years later, the Negro History Bulletin appeared which was published during the nine months of the school year. The purpose of the Bulletin was:

> to popularize Negro history lower down in the elementary school, to expose children to an atmosphere surcharged, not with propaganda, but with easily obtained and freely circulated information about the contribution of the Negro and his present status in the modern world.

Woodson was consistently concerned with the development of Black youth. Those who knew him intimately recall that he enjoyed the company of children, liked telling them stories, teaching them manners and giving them candy. At Christmastime he would bring books as gifts to his many nieces and nephews.[50]

Woodson often apprenticed young scholars and sometimes underwrote their graduate training expenses. Alrutheus Taylor, Luther P. Jackson, Lorenzo Greene, and Hosea B. Campbell received such assistance while Rayford Logan and Langston Hughes also found themselves in Woodson's employ.

The ASNLH, renamed the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History has given tremendous impetus to Black scholarship. It figured prominently in the lives of members like William Leo Hansberry, Alain Locke, Frank Snowden, John Hope Franklin and Charles Wesley. Joined now by publications such as the Journal of Negro Education and the journals in Black Studies, the Journal of Negro History remains a beacon in Black historiography. The ASNLH and its branches throughout the nation made it one of the most enduring aspects of Woodson's legacy.

Publications

No definitive study of colonial and nineteenth century Black education has surpassed Woodson's pioneer work in this regard, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861. Originally published in 1919, the volume deals with the history of schooling administered to Blacks by whites in two periods: the first extending from the introduction of slavery to the climax of Black insurrectionary activity circa 1835, followed by a second characterized by the changeover from patriarchal slavery to plantation economics slavery. It is generously footnoted and offers a rather extensive bibliography as well. It is usually neglected in both departments of history and schools of education.

Between 1916 and 1950, Woodson wrote fifteen articles, two hundred and eight-two book reviews, located, compiled and edited many of the documents and wrote the "Notes" section in each of the quarterly issues. Despite the tremendous responsibilities of the Journal, Woodson found time to contribute to other periodicals such as Opportunity and the Howard University Record. In the 1930s he had an opportunity to contribute an article on slavery to the European Civilization Series edited by Edward Eyre.

Woodson seems to be best remembered for The Negro in Our History. First published in 1922, the volume was in its fourth edition by 1927. Until his death in 1950, it was constantly enlarged and revised and was without peer until John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom appeared in 1947. The book was designed as a textbook for high school students "to present to the average reader in succinct form a history of the United States as it has been influenced by the presence of the Negro in

this country." The volume surveys briefly early civilizations in Africa, discusses enslavement, emancipation and colonization efforts, abolition movements, Civil War and Reconstruction, and the freedman's efforts at social justice. Profusely illustrated, the book was ready five years before it was actually published. Due, however, to the spiraling production costs during World War I, publication was delayed. By 1928 it was adapted for the elementary school level and entitled Negro Makers of History. The same year, a supplementary reader of folk tales from Africa was published entitled African Myths, Together with Proverbs (1928).

Within a span of three years, Woodson wrote A Century of Negro Migration (1918) and the History of the Negro Church (1921). These were succeeded by Early Negro Education in West Virginia (1922) and Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship as Qualified by the U.S. Supreme Court (1926). A grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial in 1921 made possible two studies which Woodson supervised and edited: Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830 (1926) and Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830 (1925). Largely statistical compilations, almost all of the data for both works came from the census reports for 1830.

Tremendously significant but virtually ignored was the work entitled Negro Orators and their Orations (1925). In the volume, each speech is prefaced by a biographical sketch of the speaker. The volume was prepared as a companion to another volume of source readings entitled The Mind of the Negro Reflected In Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800-1860 (1926).

Like DuBois, Woodson directed his attention to present conditions,

prefaced with a historical survey. The conditions of the 1920s prompted The Negro as a Businessman (1920), The Negro Wage Earner (1930), and The Rural Negro (1930). The 1930s brought The Negro Professional Man and the Community (1934), and returned emphasis to Africa in The African Background Outlined (1936) and African Heroes and Heroines (1939). The Miseducation of the Negro was published in 1933. In addition to full length books, Dr. Woodson authored monographs and articles. At the time of his death, he was working on a four volume treatise on The Works of Francis J. Grimke and had hopes of completing an encyclopedia Africana.

Driven by a commitment to historical "objectivity" very little of Woodson's personality filters through to the reader in most of his works. Notable exceptions are The Negro Church and the Miseducation of the Negro. Those closest to Woodson professionally have had mixed reactions to his disciplined, forceful, sometimes arrogant personality. Comments from those who knew him outside of this role indicate that he did have a lighter, less serious side. Scally (1980) claims to have a special recipe for candy concocted by Woodson for "special ladies" and a cousin described him as "courteous, charming and responsive to his family." Very confident and proud, it is said that he was an admirer of Marcus Garvey and felt that one day the masses of Blacks would rally to his call.[51] Though a member of the Black intelligentsia, Dr. Woodson never disavowed his connections with the common folks he immortalized in The Rural Negro.

Thorpe (1971) dubbed Woodson "the father of Black history," for it was he who singlehandedly put Black history "on the map." John Hope Franklin (1950) similarly assigns Woodson a foremost position in

"American" historiography. Woodson's books, almost all based on original primary research, helped reconstruct a more comprehensive view of U.S. history. Through his scholarship, Blacks learned more about themselves and their history than they had been able to from the works of all the previous Black historians combined (Thorpe, 1971). He pioneered in research and demonstrated viable techniques for mass education through the ASNLH and its organs. Largely through his efforts, the teaching of Black history practically became institutionalized in the segregated schools of the South. The example of his own life, a testimony to dogged determination and commitment, is one few have matched. He spent fourteen years earning three college degrees, working full-time all but two of them. Despite this, he never forgot or belittled his roots. Romero (1971) observed that he was a man who could write on so august a body as the U.S. Supreme Court and turn with equal ability to the subject of the Negro washerwoman.

For this prolific career Woodson was awarded the Springarn Medal in 1926 and honorary degrees from Virginia Union, Howard and Morehouse colleges. Woodson died during the night at his Washington, D.C. office-home on April 5, 1950. Though relegated to a footnote in the annals of "mainstream," or dominant U.S. historiography, Carter G. Woodson lives on in the fruits of his work.

"The Miseducation of the Negro"

In 1933 Woodson published a small book composed of short essays and speeches which were previously published in the columns of Black newspapers. The tone of the book, Miseducation of the Negro (1933) was

pessimistic and departed from the traditional idealistic emphasis of the "Negro" intelligentsia. Thirty-five years later Miseducation of the Negro resurfaced in the arsenal of intellectual arguments used by progressive, nationalist Black youth. So great was the demand that a second printing was issued in 1969. The impulse for autonomous, Afrocentric Black Studies was derived in part from Miseducation's fulfilled prophecies.

Woodson firmly believed that through the study of African history in the United States and on the continent, a change could be brought about in Blacks and whites. Prejudice against Blacks, Woodson believed was largely due to ignorance of African achievements. The remedy was in the use of history as an educative force which could also free Blacks from the vicious cycle of self-effacement and hate. "There would be no lynching if it did not start in the schoolroom" (Woodson, 1933, p. 3). Woodson came to see "scientific investigation and education as twin pillars of progress." By the 1930s, white foundation support for Afrocentric scientific research was dwindling and the side effects of white supported schooling apparent in bold relief.

Wesley and Perry's (1969) introduction to the second printing acknowledged Woodson's valuable insights concerning Black Studies and indicated that Miseducation represented "a sort of core or center, to and from which his texts and other writings protrude and revert" (p. viii).

The social milieu in the United States at that time was encapsulated in a debilitating depression that placed the masses of Blacks in dire economic straits. The overwhelming majority of Blacks were educated in segregated southern schools. The common denominator linking schools

throughout the South was the differential expenditures allocated for white and Black students.

> In 1930 the average expenditure per school-age child was $45.00 per white pupil and $14.95 per Negro pupil. Average southern investment in public school property per school-child amounted to $120.09 per whites and $29.62 for Negroes. Figures for 1928-1929 disclose that the average southern white teacher's pupil load was 31 for a school term of 164 days, while the average black teacher instructed about 44 pupils for 144 days. The average white teacher's salary was $1,020, while the average black teacher earned $524. (Work, quoted in Woodson, 1969, p. xx)

Gone was white liberal interest in the "Negro problem," white bohemian underwriting and financing of the Harlem "Renaissance," and gone too was the charisma of Garvey and the superstructure of the UNIA. Remaining intact was segregation and African hatred of its symbolic inferiority.

Miseducation criticized the system of Western education and proceeded to explain the vicious cycle that Blacks were caught up in. Wesley and Perry (1969) contend:

> The youths of the race were Woodson's particular concern because he recognized that it was with the boys and girls that Miseducation began, later crystallizing into deep-seated insecurities, intra-racial cleavages, and interracial antagonisms. (p. viii)

Though these factors have been discussed over and over during the last two decades, Woodson pointed the way fifty years ago (Ibid.). Two years after Miseducation's publication, DuBois (1935) chimed in:

> . . . race prejudice in the United States today is such that most Negroes cannot receive proper education in white institutions. . . . many public schools systems in the North where Negroes are admitted and tolerated but they are not educated; they are crucified. . . . Negroes must know the history of the Negro race in America, and this they will seldom get in white institutions. (DuBois, 1935, quoted in Woodson, 1969, p. xiv)

Woodson (1933) argued essentially:

> The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worth while, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples. The Negro thus educated is a hopeless liability of the race. (p. xxxiii)

For Woodson "the seat of the trouble" lay in the fact that "educated Negroes" held an attitude of contempt towards their own people because schools taught them to despise the African and "admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton" (p. 1). Africans in the United States who were successful could claim little or no formal education. Woodson (1933) equated success with positive contributions to the race when he averred, "The large majority of the Negroes who have put on the finishing touches of our best colleges are all but worthless in the development of their people" (p. 2). He then pointed out that the most widely known African scholars were trained in Northern and Western institutions where "much of what they have taught as economics, history, literature, religion and philosophy is propaganda and cant" (p. 4). Since inferiority was drilled into Africans in virtually every book and class, only those who left school after mastering the fundamentals could escape some of the bias. Woodson argued that time was needed for Africans with "education" to "recover" in order to be of service to the race.

> When a Negro has finished his education in our schools, then, he has been equipped to begin the life of an Americanized or Europeanized white man, but before he steps from the threshold of his alma mater he is told by his teachers that he must go back to his own people from whom he has been estranged by a vision of ideals which in his disillusionment he will realize that he cannot attain. He goes forth to play his part in life, but he must be both social and bisocial at the same time. . . . The people whom he has been ordered to serve had been belittled by his teachers to the extent that he can hardly find delight in

> undertaking what his education has led to think is impossible. Considering his race as blank in achievement, them, he sets out to stimulate their imitation of others. (p. 5-6)

Miseducation's second chapter deals with the identification of forces affecting Black education since it was systematically undertaken after Emancipation. The prevailing attitude was that schooling of some sort was required of Blacks before they could function as citizens. Woodson astutely points out that after Emancipation most Africans lived in the agricultural south. Accordingly, "there was little in their life which any one of thought could not have easily understood" (p. 10). The tenure of Black legislators during Reconstruction had little bearing on the situation of the masses

> except that they did join with the uneducated poor whites in bringing about certain much desired social reforms, especially in giving the South its first plan of democratic education in providing for a school system at public expense. (p. 11)

At the precise "psychological moment" when Africans again despaired of equality in the United States, "came the wave of industrial education which swept the country by storm" and educational policy makers throughout the South implemented a course of study to conform Black education to the new wave (Ibid.). Woodson reduced the DuBois-Washington classical/industrial training debate to a "battle of words" since he contended neither was achieved. He charged:

> It is very clear, therefore, that we do not have in the life of the Negro today a large number of persons who have been benefited by either of the systems about which we have quarreled so long. (Woodson, 1933, p.13)

The curricula erred in both cases by the glaring omission of Blacks as objects and subjects. This was unconscionable to Woodson since "history does not furnish a case of the elevation of a people by ignoring the

thought and aspiration of the people thus served" (p. 24).

The fourth chapter addresses some of the consequences of "education under outside control." Woodson posits the need for Black teachers because though facts can be presented by anyone, the overlay of racial prejudice, segregation and terrorism render it impossible. Besides, Woodson insisted that the mere imparting of information is not education. Real education implied providing inspiration for people to deal with life as it is with a goal, its improvement. To achieve the goal of Black self-determination Woodson, like Garvey and Blyden to an extent, was prepared to accept strange bedfellows.

Woodson goes on to cite the failure to learn to make a living as well as the neglect of political and professional education as by-products of Western tailored education. One of the worst side effects was the desertion of the masses by miseducated Africans. This was glaringly obvious in the case of the Black church which remained the "only institution the race controls" (p. 57). Woodson, who was very fond of the Black church criticized sharply miseducated Africans who deserted the churches for those "with a more intellectual atmosphere" (p. 54). He thought the cause "a sort of slave psychology which causes this preference for the leadership of the oppressor" (p. 55). With respect to politics Woodson chided miseducated Blacks who accepted their "place." "An influential Negro in the South, then, is one who has nothing to do or say about politics and advises others to follow the same course" (p. 90). Yet Woodson realized that "putting all the eggs in one basket" (politics) was equally a folly. He argued:

> History does not show that any race, especially a minority group, has ever solved an important problem by relying altogether on one thing. (p. 94)

One generation removed from slavery, Woodson considered segregation "a sequel of slavery" (p. 102). It was a constant reminder of the African's alleged inferiority. It was partially held in place, Woodson maintained, by "educated Negroes" who accept segregation as a given and therefore abandon the fight against it. Moreover, blocked from pinnacles of achievement by race, "educated Negroes" turn against their own people and join the oppressors in exploiting the race mercilessly.

> No progress has been made in this respect because the more "education" the Negro gets the worse off he is. He had just had so much longer to learn to decry and despise himself. . . . By forgetting the schoolroom . . . and relying upon an awakening of the masses through adult education we can do much to give the Negro a new point of view with respect to economic enterprise and group cooperation. (p. 109)

The solution to these problems according to Woodson lay in proper education. Through reconstructed education a negative, diminutive self-image could be turned around and the latent possibilities in the race surfaced. Woodson surmised

> The Negro needs to become radical, and the race will never amount to anything until it does become so, but this <u>radicalism should come from within</u>. (p. 187, emphasis added)

Woodson believed that the provision of vibrant Black role models would inspire Blacks in the United States to reach for equality and justice. Whites would be less prejudiced against Blacks if they really knew history and were welcome in the many branches of the ASNLH. Woodson lambasted "miseducated Negroes" who joined the race's antagonists:

> . . . with the objection that the study of the Negro keeps alive questions which should be forgotten. The Negro should cease to remember that he was once held a slave, that he has been oppressed, and even that he is a Negro. . . . One cannot blame

> the Negro for not desiring to be reminded of being the sort of creature that the oppressor has represented the Negro to be; but this very attitude shows ignorance of the past and a slavish dependence upon the enemy. (p. 194)

Carter G. Woodson's phrasing of the issues in 1933 is caustic where Blyden was eloquent, narrower where Casely-Hayford was broader, yet a central core of congruence links the critiques. The West is identified as the causative factor in the fragmentation of African people, history and culture. The highly educated African is critical to the process of racial development; more often than not s/he is useless in that process if not a deterrent. The redirection of Western education to an Afrocentric focus and under African control is crucial to the race's well-being.

Other Findings

Research inevitably brings about detours and surprises. A very tempting detour was posed upon the discovery of a few additional Afrocentric educators of the period under discussion.

Adelaide Casely-Hayford (1868-1960)

Okonkwo's (1979) study of the development of nationalism in British West Africa is probably the first to examine the role of J. E. Casely-Hayford's second wife, Adelaide Smith (p. 7). She is a particularly interesting figure who seems to have started out as an "assimilationist" and later became a progressive nationalist. The one-time president of the women's division of the Freetown chapter of the UNIA often found her feminist values conflicting with traditional African ones. When they

did, "Hayford chose to uphold the cause of African womanhood every time" (p. 155).

Hayford's paternal grandfather was a British employee of the Royal African Company who married a Fanti woman. Adelaide's father decided to raise his family in England, on the island of Jersey where they were the only Blacks. When her mother died, Adelaide's father married a British woman. Curiously, Adelaide retained no memory of racial distinction during her childhood in England. Later she studied music in Germany where she "first felt conspicuous because of her color" (Okonkwo, 1979, p. 156). After 25 years abroad, the Smith children returned to Africa to fulfill their father's dying wish. This return was bittersweet and Hayford later thought it a mistake to raise Black children overseas.

On a subsequent trip to England, J. E. Casely-Hayford proposed and they were married. Unfortunately, though a daughter was born of their union, they eventually separated in 1914.

Hayford's racial pride was strong and she believed in Pan-African solidarity. She was courageous and often alone in her crusade for the wearing of African attire. After an internal feud with the UNIA concerning funds being raised for her school, she severed all connections and devoted her energies to the establishment of a Girls' Vocational School. Her institution, The Girls' Vocational School, opened in 1923. It was one of Freetown's first African-owned and run schools. Hayford's interest was always on the African woman. In the days when few women participated in public life, Adelaide Smith Casely-Hayford was a symbol of the accomplishments of the African woman, Okonkwo (1979) noted:

> As a culmination of her involvement in education, Hayford hoped to represent African women at the Geneva Conference for the Welfare of the African Child, held in June 1931. Despite numerous public appeals for financial backing, she was unable to attend. Gladys, who was living in Europe at the time, presented her mother's speech before the conference.
>
> Hayford's message to the conference provided a good summary of her philosophy of African education. The fundamental question she sought to answer was "how to educate and enlighten the African child without taking him too far away from his native environment." She stressed the need for the employment of African teachers, properly trained and paid, who would better understand the psychology of the African child. She called for the use of African-produced textbooks and suggested the need for African representation on the Educational Advisory Board. (p. 166-167; emphasis added)

So proud of her race and nationality that she is remembered in Freetown for wearing African dress wherever she went, Adelaide Casely-Hayford seems to have been equally a feminist. "Since Hayford believed that the western woman had greater rights and freedom to develop herself, she leaned heavily towards European culture in her synthesis of the two ways of life." A Western-trained Pan-Africanist educator, Adelaide Smith Casely-Hayford is deserving of further study.

Dr. Albert Thorne

Shepperson (1960) labelled Dr. Albert Thorne of Barbados, "a precursor of Garvey" (p. 300). In 1909 Thorne started an industrial school on Jamaica's north coast where Garvey spent his childhood. Martin (1976) reports that during the 1890s Thorne attempted to organize the settlement of Africans in the Caribbean to Central Africa. "He is said to have supported Garvey's early UNIA activity in Jamaica, and an assistant of his was one of the first to join the UNIA" (p. 112). Thorne believed that "Africa is the only quarter of the world where we will be

permanently respected as a race" (Shepperson, 1960 p. 300). The nature of the St. Ann's parish school he formed and the Central African proposal merit the attention of Afrocentric scholars.

Elijah Muhammad

Elijah Muhammad's example of self-reliance and self-education and his living monument, The Nation of Islam establishes him as a forerunner of Afrocentric education in the United States. Muhammad skillfully applied the resources of the institutional Black church/temple to initiate educational, social and economic programs for African people. He argued:

> First my people must be taught the knowledge of self. Then, and only then will they be able to understand others and that which surrounds them. . . . My people should get an education which will benefit our own people and not an education adding to the "storehouse of their teacher." We need education, but an education which removes us from the shackles of slavery and servitude. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 62-63)

Simply stated, the purpose of education was to enable Africans in the United States "to go an do for self." Heavily influenced by Garvey and his own Southern beginnings, Muhammad proposed economic self-determination. Muhammad's educational ideas became apparent during the early years of his leadership in the 1930s. The stage for a successful Afrocentric organization had been set by the close of the Garvey era and the wane of the Noble Drew Ali Moorish Science movement. One of Muhammad's first projects was a University of Islam which he opened in 1932.

In actuality the early University of Islam included elementary and secondary levels "dedicated to "higher mathematics," astronomy and the "ending of the spook (white ruled) civilization" (Lincoln, 1961, p. 16;

emphasis added). Pragmatically Muhammad stressed vocational development after critical knowledge but insisted that the educational future of Blacks should be no more limited than that of whites. He opposed integrated schools generally and argued that Black children should be educated in Black schools rather than forced into white schools where they were instructed by whites who taught white supremacy (Muhammad, 1965, p. 169-170). Harvey Wish (1974) observed:

> His parochial schools in Chicago, the "University of Islam" taught children Arabic beginning in the third grade and created an attractive image of the Negro past rooted in a rich Moslem culture, thus showing that the black was not "the so-called Negro" at all. (p. 173; emphasis added)

Muhammad joined Blyden, Casely-Hayford, Garvey and Woodson in chiding Western-educated Blacks who abandoned the needed race work:

> Imagine people out here with B.A., B.S., M.A., M.S. and Ph.D degrees still begging the white man to give them a job and to care for them as their fathers did in slavery times. This actually shows that the more highly educated and trained our people are, the more they want to be like white people and be recognized as one of them throughout the government of America. . . . this type of slavery (mental slavery) is worse than physical slavery. (Muhammad, 1974, pp. 136-140)

Whereas Blyden and Woodson were prolific writers essentially concerned with the same issues, neither matched the success of Muhammad in the implementation of educational strategies. Elijah Muhammad joins a persistent stream of Afrocentric philosopher-educators whose works are deserving of emulation.

Marcus Garvey

> The white man's propaganda has made him the master of the world, and all those who have come in contact with it and accepted it have become his slaves. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is now calling upon the 400,000,00 members of our

> race to discard the psychology and propaganda of all other peoples and to advance our own.

Without a doubt, Marcus Garvey advanced the ideological struggle on behalf of African people more than any other individual in the twentieth century. Singlehandedly at first, and later under the canopy of a global Pan-African organization, several million strong, Garvey rocked the Western world. Dr. Albert Thorne and Carter G. Woodson were sympathizers, Casely-Hayford was knighted by Garvey in 1922 and Blyden would have been genuinely proud of Garvey's repatriation plans (Martin, 1976).

Garvey's Afrocentric achievements are flawlessly discussed in Martin (1976), Clarke (1974) and Garvey (1977). The Cronon (1969) volume should hereafter be regarded as a "period piece" which inadequately attempts to enter "the other's" ideological space.

Of particular interest to this study is the energy Garvey (UNIA) expended on behalf of African redirection via education. Martin (1976) observed that the UNIA thrust for self-reliance led to "sporadic attempts at developing educational facilities" (p. 36). Perhaps due to the influence of Dr. Thorne's industrial school, Garvey corresponded with Booker T. Washington and later visited the United States. These actions were motivated by Garvey's desire to "establish in Jamaica an industrial and agricultural school along the lines of Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama" (p. 36). Martin pointed out that "this desire for an education geared toward independence continuously cropped up" (Ibid.). Garvey claimed:

> The Universal Negro Improvement Association teaches our race self-help and self-reliance. . . . without making the effort to do for themselves, has been the race's standing disgrace by

> which we have been judged and through which we have created the strongest prejudice against ourselves. . . . The race needs workers at this time, not plagiarists, copyists and mere imitators; but men and women who are able to create, to originate and improve, and thus make an independent racial contribution to the world and civilization. (Garvey quoted in Martin, 1976, p. 37)

The UNIA's 1920 Declaration of Rights demanded "unlimited and unprejudiced education" (Ibid., emphasis added) for African people and frequently UNIA local chapters ran grammar and elementary schools, notably in Costa Rica, Panama and the former British Guyana.

> In New York City the association owned a "Booker T. Washington University" in the early years, and in 1926 the association in the United States obtained the Smallwood Corey Institute in Claremont, Virginia . . . Liberty University was acquired amid high hopes that it would become a successful vehicle for imparting self-reliance and race pride and for rehabilitating black history. . . . In addition to its formally organized schools, the UNIA throughout its history organized inservice training courses. . . . During Garvey's last years in London he organized a School of African Philosophy which by means of correspondence courses as well as intensive courses administered by Garvey himself. (Ibid., pp. 36-37, emphasis added)

Admittedly, Garvey's emphasis was Diasporan repatriation and African continental development. However, within that broad spectrum of activities which the UNIA engaged in, educational redirection was not neglected. Martin (1976) determined that history was of prime concern in the day-to-day affairs of the UNIA.

> The race catechism used by the organization was largely an encapsulation of historical knowledge concerning the race. The first of its four sections, Religious Knowledge, succinctly described Africa in antiquity, with particular emphasis on biblical references to Africa and Africans. The second section, Historical Knowledge . . .included brief biographical sketches of such famous historical figures as Edward Wilmot Blyden, James Africanus Horton, and Samuel Lewis of Sierra Leone. (p. 86)

Garvey's powerful charisma and organizational ability establish him as the fountainhead of twentieth century global Pan-Africanism. His

contributions are a crucial nexus in Black intellectual history which link Blyden, Delany, Casely-Hayford, Knumah and Malcolm X to an equally continuous stream of African protest. As McGuire (1974) points out,

> the character of black protest is significant because the specifics of its form were created by something unique in world history--the division of human beings into political-social-economic categories based on black and white skin colors. And this division lays at the base of the creation of the modern economic, political and cultural world. (p. 291-292)

V Summary of the Literature Review

The intellectual antecedents of academic Black Studies between 1850 and 1933 were the focus of the literature review. The study presumed a link between the material and immaterial struggles of African people in three parts of the African world. Examination of the literature revealed that Africans on both sides of the Atlantic dissented with the dominant Western ideology and its manipulation of critical knowledge. This is significant as we frame the parameters of Black Studies since it must be appreciated in a context of historical continuity. Hence, Black Studies is not "new" as some faculty and administrators were inclined to believe during the late 1960s.[52] Rather the literature reveals that its roots are well over a hundred years old.

To appreciate the tremendous contributions made by the three Africans highlighted in this study, the literature review spanned several areas. It began by examining the dynamics that brought about the brutal enslavement of African peoples and the concurrent development of racial attitudes in the West. The literature reveals that far from being a mere reductionist system of economic exploitation[53] slavery settled for no

less than the total domination of its victims. Psychological subjugation characterized by fragmented identities and values reduced the African to "negro." This process was facilitated by the West's deliberate designation of Africans as a race apart from the human family.

The psychological dependency syndrome among oppressed African peoples remained essentially intact long after the physical chains of slavery were broken. A major vehicle used to reinforce this, while granting access to some literacy and skills training was the school. The school unconsciously promoted the dominant ideology despite its sometime Christian affiliation or philanthropic origins. As schools became mass institutions and features of the dominant ideology were refashioned to assure congruence with social change, intellectual dependency among Africans the world over became more pronounced.

Numerous studies have been contributed by Western and African scholars which examine the role of schools in society. Studies are presently emerging which explore the politics of schooling and its nexus with the dominant ideology. A significant portion of the valuable, provocative studies penetrating the literature are Marxist critiques. It is largely through this medium that the idea of cultural hegemony has been introduced. Viewed through this lens, the impact of Western cultural hegemony on African people is chiefly negative. Excluded as subjects or objects in the theoretical framework and practical curricula, Africans in Western schools are taught indirectly self-effacement, if not self-hate. Moreover, the African experience on the continent and throughout the Diaspora indicates that within Western-dominated societies, there are no historically enduring Afrocentric institutions of

learning. This study suggests that a reason for this is that Afrocentrism is inimically antithetical to the dominant ideology.

This study hypothesized that a few Africans challenged the West's racist caricatures of African humanity and criticized the complicity of Western schools and academicians in perpetuating these images. The literature review identified three prominent, articulate Africans who recognized the intellectual damages to, and psychological oppression of African people and who attempted to ameliorate the situation by defining an Afrocentric approach to Black education.

Edward W. Blyden of St. Thomas and West Africa was easily the most accomplished African scholar of the nineteenth century. His legacy to Pan-African studies includes several scholarly contributions toward the understanding and appreciation of African traditional life and numerous articles and discourses that ascribe a fundamental unity among Africans the world over under the rubric of a uniquely African personality.

Joseph E. Casely-Hayford, of the former Gold Coast was Blyden's junior confrere. Casely-Hayford expanded these ideas to include an appropriate role for the emerging Western-educated elite. Significantly, the role entailed joining with traditional officials (chiefs) to provide national, rather than local service. African education, he averred, should be formulated from an Afrocentric perspective. The West African nationalism which immortalized Casely-Hayford was matched by commitment to the extended global African family.

Carter G. Woodson, a Virginian by birth, developed an uncompromising racial pride which inspired him to work incessantly to rescue and restore Black history to its rightful place in world history. It is to him that

credit must be given for originally conceiving a Negro History Week in February, which during the Carter administration was redesignated as Black History Month. Among the Woodson progeny are two periodicals devoted to Negro history, an international organization committed to further study of Negro life and numerous books and articles. To radical young Blacks of the late 1960s grating against the canopy of white studies, Woodson's Miseducation of the Negro (1933) was a powerful analysis of U.S. education. So vital was it to the intellectual arsenal compiled by Black studies who hungered for Black Studies that a second printing was issued in 1969. Fifty years later Woodson's poignant observations distinguish Miseducation as a classic treatise on the effects of Black education in the United States.

Notes

1. This theme in its various manifestations has been a factor in the African/Western dialectic since the cultures initially clashed. Blyden, Casely-Hayford, DuBois and others exploded the myth of African inferiority and paved the way for this peculiar brand of thought. See Frederickson (1971) and Jordan (1968) for in-depth examinations of the power of Eurocentric images for both Africans and Westerners. Kovel (1970) delves into the social pathology of racism revealing a "deeper, psychohistorical logic to the banalities of racism" (p. 178). He notes however that racism "ceases whenever a black has accumulated enough Caucasian genes to 'pass' for white. Until the Black Power Movement in the late 1960s, Kovel maintains that most Blacks were obsessed with "valuing the whiter aspects of themselves, hoping for lighter skin in their spouses or offspring and, in general prizing that which they were not" (Ibid.) Frazier (1956) and Hare (1965) examine this obsession from markedly similar interpretive vistas. Both condemn the lengths "Negroes" will go to in order to "become" white.

2. These U.S. scientists were the nineteenth century keepers of the biological inferiority of Blacks school of thought. While Agassiz was a naturalist, Morton a "dedicated collector of crania" (Thomas and Sillen, 1972, p. 4).

3. His assessments, though directed at the scientific community, were supported anyway by prevailing popular beliefs and stereotypes, Tracy's (1983) study of the images of Blacks in antebellum literature is illuminating.

4. This image survives in the Black community to this data. Witness Richard Pryor's popular album "Dat Nigger's Crazy."

5. Shockley, Herrnstein and Jensen have been the "official" twentieth century guardians of the myth of Black inferiority. Both are tenured professors who exercise their "academic freedom" to perpetuate racism with the full weight of the Academy behind their "right" to do so. Shockley, a Nobel prizewinner in physics is known for his genetic inferiority theory concerning Africans. Jensen (1969) argued that compensatory education's failure to raise scholastic achievement was attributed to the heritability of "IQ." Herrnstein (1971) extended Jensen's assertions to include the conclusion that because "IQ" is heritable to a great extent, socioeconomic status is passed on within families from generation to generation. See also Burnham (1971) for a brief critique of "Jensenism."

6. See especially Apple (1979, 1982, 1982a), Barkan (1975), Bowles and Gintis (1975, 1976), Coard (1971), Freire (1973, 1981), Karabel and Halsey (1977), MacDonald (1977), Mazrui (1975, 1978), Parenti (1978), and Young (1971).

7. In addition to works cited above, see also African theoreticians Ben Jochannan (1975), Blyden (1872, 1967), Boggs (1974), Carew (1976), Casely-Hayford (1911), Chinweizu (1977), DuBois (1935), Hare (1969, 1975), Institute of the Black World (1974), Karenga (1982), King (1971), Ladner (1973, Manley (1975), Madhubuti (1977), Morrissey (1976), Turner (1970), and Woodson (1933). The most provocative in this genre was in the volume edited by Adbulai and Vandi (1980), Contemporary Black Thought. Other studies worthy of note by Western scholars include Carnoy (1974), Apple (1983), Bagdikian (1983), Franklin (1974), and Wexler (1976).

8. The diunital, dialectical vision rather than a dichotomous disengaged perception of phenomenological relationships is a feature of African cosmology. Through that lens, conflict is not "either/or" but "both/and." See Dixon (1976) and Nobles (1972).

9. See Freire (1973) for another slant on how this "processing" occurs. Woodson (1933) is quite specific about how it affects Africans in the United States.

10. Many critiques of the school as an oppressive institution come from outside the United States (i.e., Freire, 1973, 1981 and Illich, 1974). When recognized by the "mainstream" pedagogical community, often the focus is on oppression of the individual. "Mainstream" scholars have yet to make a link with the schools deliberately political purpose. This study suggests that they are unlikely to so do given the tacit assumption of dichotomy between schools and politics in the dominant ideology's framework.

11. Patterns of privilege, Bowles and Gintis (1976) maintain, are frequently justified by elaborate facades. They argue that "the educational system legitimates economic inequality by providing an open, objective, and ostensibly meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. The educational system fosters and reinforces the belief that economic success depends essentially on the possession of technical and cognitive skills--skills which it is organized to provide in an efficient, equitable, and unbiased manner on the basis of meritocratic principle" (p. 103). Evaluated on other than strictly economic criteria, pungent critiques have also emerged from Weinberg (1977) and Carnoy (1974).

12. Traditionally, Harvard Medical School was reserved for white males only but in November 1850, in a radical departure, three Black males and a white female were admitted. Less than a month after their admission, the Harvard students allied with a few faculty and demanded the dismissal of Isaac Snowden, Daniel Laing Jr., Martin

Delany and Harriot K. Hunt. When reading their resolutions, one is immediately struck by the similarity in syntax with more recent bantering over "lowering of academic standards." They stated that the admission of Africans was "but the beginning of an Evil, which is not checked will increase, and that the number of respectable white students will, in future, be in inverse ratio to that of the blacks" (p. 129). As for Ms. Hunt, it was equally clear to her white male counterparts that "no woman of true delicacy would be willing to attend medical lectures with men." See Takaki (1978).

13. This is a euphemism for "paternal instincts." Wise (1956) neglects to say but implies that these mulattos were fathered by the Dutch traders who inhabited the castle.

14. The dress code as a form of behavior control, coupled with Victorian attitudes was imposed upon Africans in a climate that was hostile to layers of clothing. The missionaries pressed hard on this issue and British dress eventually eroded traditional attire. By the early twentieth century, Adelaide Casely-Hayford was famous in Freetown for constantly wearing her African attire (Okonkwo, 1979).

15. James Fergusson returned to Africa upon manumission from slavery. In Yoruba, nineteenth century emigrants like Fergusson were referred to as Saro (Ajayi, 1965, p. 30). It is reported that they desired the gospel, schools, Bibles and the British flag (Ibid.).

16. The retention of traditional ways by residents of the hinterland helped create the tension of urban/modern and country/"backward." Those who obtained Western schooling received privileges that established a new town "elite." The Casely-Hayford family was part of the Gold Coast town elite. See McGuire, 1974, p. 33.

17. The British class system was transferred to the continent as was the dress code. The missionaries insisted that it was important to have a middle class, because like wearing European clothes, it represented "civilization."

18. The high mortality was in part due to the planter preference for working slaves to death and replacing them. It was purportedly more "cost-efficient" at the time.

19. See Leonard Barrett (1977, p. 293-294) and Monica Shuler (1978) in Crahan and Knight (p. 65-79).

20. Comitas and Lowenthal (1973) and Carew (1976) explore the role of color in Caribbean societies. The synthesis of forces produced a layering of Europeans at the top of the pyramid, mulattos occupying a firm, middle position and Africans (the blacks) at the base.

21. Between 1873 and 1876 Gordon (1963, p. 281) reported that a secular institution of higher education was attempted at Spanish Town, Jamaica but the most it ever had was four students.

22. "True" integration involves an aspect of mutuality and exchange that has never characterized race relations in the Western hemisphere. In practice for the European it means essentially social contact with "the non-white other"; for Africans it means a trip into the "glittering world of the West" and opportunity to assimilate by denouncing one's culture and heritage. See Chinweizu, 1975; Mosquera and Lacides, 1975, and Bengu, 1976.

23. Casely-Hayford argued strenuously for the inclusion of African languages in West African schools. The acquisition of the language of the dominant culture renders on "articulate," which implies "acceptable." The masses of African people rarely affect the colonial language without retaining their own distinctive syntax and lexicon. Hence the varieties of languages known throughout as pidgin, creole and Black English.

24. This is very apparent throughout the Caribbean archipelago, with possible exceptions of Haiti and Cuba, which Fidel Castro declared to be a "Latin-African nation." The three tiered, color-coded societies are marked by bourgeois denial of African connections and often, a preference for identification with the colonial metropole. Cities in the United States which mirror this sort of layering are Charleston, South Carolina and New Orleans, Louisiana. See Comitas and Lowenthal (1973), Hoetink (1971) and Lowenthal (1968).

25. This study is indebted to Professor Asa Davis of Amherst College, Amherst, Ma., Mrs. Marion Jackson-Pryde, niece of Dr. Woodson of Washington, D.C., and Sister Anthony Scally of Washington, D.C.

26. Moses (1978) discusses the overwhelming power of Christianity and the effect on nineteenth century Black nationalists. Blyden at least for a while believed that Christianity would provide the uplift needed by the African race. By 1887, he was arguing in favor of Islam's ability to accomplish the same goal. See Blyden (1967).

27. "Westernized" here refers to Christian as widespread education was unavailable to African people. Indeed, in some parts of the United States at the time, it was a crime to teach Blacks literacy. See Weinberg (1977) and Woodson (1915).

28. See Lynch (1967, p. 38), footnotes 22 and 23. Lynch further offers a graphic example of this tug of war on page 39 where he points out that Liberia's mulatto ruling elite opposed Blyden's plan for promoting emigration of skilled blacks from the West Indies to Liberia. See Lynch (1967, p. 38) where Reade's African Sketch Book is quoted. "The political parties were fragmented along the color line. The True Liberians (mulattos) and the Old Whigs (Blacks)" (p. 257-258).

29. According to Lynch (1967, p. 29), Blyden had to get a white man to vouch for the fact that he was a "free" man before he was granted permission to leave the city.

30. According to Livingston (1971), Freeman joined the faculty of Liberia College as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. He never became active in the mulatto conflict as Crummell and Blyden did, but privately sympathized and supported them.

31. See Lynch (1967, p. 41), notes 32 and 33. Crummell later alleged that the mulattos resented educated Blacks in Liberia and did everything to degrade them. Chancellor Williams (1974) ably discusses the African race's perpetual problems with mulattos.

32. Lynch (1967) cites Herder, Fichte, Hegel and Mazzini as European philosophers and nationalists who urged racial and national unity. Lynch suggests that Blyden was most profoundly influenced by Herder's humanitarian nationalism which disavowed conquest or domination of other peoples. Both Herder and Blyden believed that the ultimate goal of a nation or race was to serve humanity and that individuals fulfilled themselves by dedicated service to the nation or race.

33. Many proponents of Negritude argued this also. Some aver that Negritude is the Francophone corollary to Pan-Africanism. Its proponents echo Blyden and Casely-Hayford's African personality or nationality, by instead affirming the attributes of "Blackness" or negritude. Leopold Sedar Senghor, the "poet laureate" of negritude explained:

> Negritude is the whole of the values of civilization--cultural, economic, social, political--which characterize the black peoples, more exactly, the Negro-African world. It is essentially instinctive reason which pervades all these values. It is expressed by the emotions through an abandonment of self and a complete identification with the object; through the myth of the archetype of the collective soul, and the myth primordial accorded to the cosmos. In other terms, the sense of communion, the gift of imagination, the gift of rhythm--these are the traits of Negritude, that we find like an indelible seal on all works and activities of the black man. (Senghor in Markovitz, 1969, p. 41)

See also Geiss (1974), Irele (1965), Skurnick (1965). Lynch (1967, p. 63) points out that Blyden did not claim a monopoly for Africa on the spiritual role in world civilization. This he was quite prepared to share with the Jews who he believed had a parallel history to Africans. See also Blyden (1898).

34. See Livingston (1971, p. 14). This dissertation begins with a graphic depiction of elderly Blyden based on interviews with two prominent Muslims who remembered him well.

35. The designation by Blyden of the name The Negro created quite a stir in Sierra Leone. At that time "colored" was the preferred term and

Blyden acknowledge that "negro" had "heretofore been generally used only as a term of abuse." To his critics Blyden responded:

> It has been called The Negro (if explanation be necessary) because it is intended to represent and defend that peculiar type of humanity known as "the Negro" with all its affiliated and collateral branches whether on this continent or elsewhere. (See Billingsley, 1970, p. 3-12)

36. Livingston (1971) reports that Blyden did have another family with Anna Erskine of Sierra Leone. His children remembered him fondly.

37. Williams (1974) has given a great deal of thought to precisely this question. His judgement is not far from Blyden's: the mulatto strain has tended to work against the interests of the masses of African (Black) people.

38. After the Civil War it was clear that Africans in the United States, regardless of hue were disinterested in colonization of leaving the country.

39. He did inscribe his popular novel with this name underneath Casely-Hayford.

40. Achimota College as it was known offered instruction from kindergarten to teacher's training. Its first African teacher was J.E.K. Aggrey. Geiss (1974, pp. 288-289) suggests that it was greatly influenced by Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes and the Phelps-Stokes Commission findings on Education in Africa. Geiss credits it as "another delayed and somewhat surprising victory for the late Booker T. Washington" (Ibid.)

41. Britain was one of the strongest centers of missionary activity and revival. The theoretical notion of the universality of Christianity and the "moral duty" to preach the gospel among the "heathen" profoundly affected its colonies in North America and Africa. Curtin (1964) makes reference to excellent primary sources (pp. 229-285) and Ajayi's (1965) examination of Christian missions in Nigeria is thorough.

42. This organization, founded and led for some time by Casely-Hayford is discussed in Kimble (1965) and Eluwa (1971).

43. Slavery was abolished in these areas in 1865, 1866 and 1888, respectively.

44. A phrase describing slavery popularized by 19th century abolitionists.

45. Interview with Woodson's niece, Mrs. Marion Jackson-Pryde, March 21, 1980.

46. Interview with Sister Anthony Scally, March 20, 1980, Washington, D.C. at ASNLH headquarters.

47. RG8898NA Telegram, Thomson to Woodson, 5.21.1904. Woodson Papers ASNLH.

48. Ibid. Bessie Woodson and Robert Woodson to Bureau of Insular Affairs, 8/1904.

49. University of Chicago Certificates #2569 and 2450. Woodson Papers ASNLH.

50. Interview with Mrs. Marion Jackson-Pryde, Washington, D.C., March 21, 1980.

51. Interviews conducted in Washington, D.C. with Sister Anthony Scally, March 21, 1980 at ASNLH and Mrs. Marion Jackson-Pryde, March 21, 1980 at her home.

52. See Allen (1974), Eichel, et al. (p. 261-288), and Task Force (1976).

53. Current critiques tend to view slavery's impulse as chiefly reduced to economic imperatives. See Genovese (1974) and Fogel and Engerman (1974), modern architects of economic reductionism in slavery. The hidden assumption is that economic greed is a common enough human failing that the West was only doing what others would do!

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Thus far, the literature review established that the TransAtlantic slave trade and Western colonialism were institutional arrangements that necessitated the destruction of Black history and culture. The far-reaching tentacles of Western domination created fragmented psyches as well as societies. Inadvertently, the schools emergence as a significant societal vehicle facilitated the promulgation of Eurocentrism and racism. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century African intellectual resistances to Western cultural hegemony emerged from Blyden who was joined decades later by Casely-Hayford and his generation of Western-educated Africans who struggled with their roles and responsibilities. Woodson in the early part of the twentieth part of the century, believed that an accurate accounting of history had the potential to eliminate prejudice. This chapter addresses the third question raised by the study: with respect to higher education, what were the implications concerning the scope and direction of Black education?

The following discussion proceeds to illuminate aspects of the literature review by comparing and contrasting Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson utilizing a context developed by Emoungu (1979). Each's respective degree of Afrocentrism is discussed in the context of the educational ideas he promulgated.

The Context

Emoungu's (1979) article, "Socioeducational ideologies of Black education," provides an excellent context for the subsequent discussion. He charges that understanding of Black education is stymied "if we fail to come to grips with the ideological nature and function of dominant modes of thought about Black education" (p. 43). Moreover, Emoungu sees many "venerated 'educational theories' on closer scrutiny appear to be especially cunning socioeducational ideologies functioning as apologetics of the status quo" (Ibid.). The researcher is in complete agreement with Emoungu that:

> failure to ventilate educational theorizing and research of these ideologies will make efforts to improve Black education futile, as has been the case since the post-Reconstruction period to date. (Ibid.)

Emoungu posits that the overarching frameworks for consideration of Black education are Educational Adaptation and Cultural-Educational Deprivation. These approaches result particularly from the United States's century long attempts to account for racial and sociocultural differences between Blacks and whites.

> This preoccupation has never been disinterested. Its thrust, for the most part, has been an endless search for some evidence to justify and legitimize differential social fates of both races. The effort to account for these differences has generated two modes of thought which have dominated and permeated virtually all conceivable areas of inquiry about Blacks. (p. 44)

The Educational Adaptation ideology is associated with the mode of thought that presumes inequality between the two races is "a natural consequence of natural differences" (Ibid.). Further it is averred that any notion of equality between them is absurd. The second mode of

thought presumes that racial differences may not be natural and normal. Instead, differences are viewed as symptomatic of abnormality or inherent Black deficiencies

> thus suggesting that the eradication of these alleged deficiencies or abnormality is a prerequisite to improving the social fate of Blacks. Cultural Educational Deprivation ideology is associated with this mode of thinking. (Ibid.)

Critical to the understanding of these socioeducational ideologies is that they are resurrected at any given time as a "function of the potency of social expediency generated in an attempt, by whites, to safeguard the status quo at the expense of Black vested interests" (Ibid.). As such, a shift in emphasis from one ideology to another neither indicates nor provides any improvement in tackling the plethora of problems associated with Black education,

> but rather it indicates changes in the socially and intellectually dominant groups' thinking about Black Education which in turn is a function of the vagaries of these groups' vested interests vis-a-vis Blacks. (p. 45)

Emoungu attributes the articulation and formulation of Educational Adaptation ideology to the widely acclaimed "expert" on "Negro education," Thomas Jesse Jones[1] during the early decades of the twentieth century. Jones's impact on the conceptual framework for Black education stretched across the Atlantic and across the African continent (King, 1971). Jones's argument claimed that racial differences necessitated different educational provisions for Blacks. Hence, an adapted form of education emphasizing "practical," "agricultural," "industrial" or vocational skills was believed tailored to the needs of Blacks. Implicit in Jones's writings is the assertion that classical or literary education (that recommended for whites) was dysfunctional.

Emoungu suggests that two intellectual strands heavily influenced Jones. One was a theoretical inheritance traceable to the European Renaissance, when reform movements were frequently permeated by an aura of upper class benevolence regarding the underdogs. As the European Renaissance was marked by clearly stratified social classes, educational provisions for the "underprivileged" European masses were constructed in such a way that literacy remained the guarded preserve of a privileged few. Emoungu remarked

> This difference in educational provisions appears to have reflected the sense of noblesse oblige attitude to the upper social strata . . . most of these social reforms were hardly signs of lack of interest on the part of the privileged groups for the optimum social benefit of the underprivileged groups. Instead, most of them appear to have been attempts to debarbarize the toiling masses and the poor in order to accommodate their life position in highly stratified European societies. Invariably, throughout the centuries, educational reforms advocating "utilitarian" education, at one time or another served some expedient cause or interest of the privileged vis-a-vis the underprivileged. (p. 48)

This context is essential in the evaluation of philanthropic pursuits in African education.

The other major strand of influence, for Jones and certainly Booker T. Washington, who threw his full weight of support behind the Educational adaptation model was General S. C. Armstrong.

Armstrong capitalized on views that were congenial to white southern racial ideology and managed to strike a compromise that lessened intense disapproval of the extension of even rudimentary education to Blacks. He argued in favor of differentiated special education by way of a "Great Detour" and "emerged with a model which became prototypic of Black education in America and in Africa during Jones's time" (p. 46).

Emoungu suggests that the systems designed by Armstrong and promoted

by Washington,

> would train Blacks along the myths about the Black race and which would lend justification to the social stigma put on Blacks. It was never to be the kind of education which would make Blacks want to elevate themselves to white social status and compete with Whites. Black education had to be industrial or manual to perfect Black skills as a laborer and no more; thus making his labor more productive than ever before for the southern economy . . . this insistence on a differentiated utilitarian "Negro education" from that of Whites, commensurably with dominant racial thought, that was later on labeled Educational Adaptation by Jones. . . . The tradition of "utilitarian education" . . . has been acclaimed in many educational textbooks as having contributed to pedagogical or socioeducational theories. Yet, the ideological function of this tradition, which probably outweighs the claimed scientific or theoretical value, has been practically overlooked. (p. 47; emphasis added)

Blyden Revisited

Moses (1978) termed Blyden a "classical black nationalist" to whom black nationalism was "a mystical system of beliefs. It had to do with dreams of competing with and excelling the white man--beating him at his own game" (p. 44). Blyden's exceptional intellect combined with physical features which were undoubtedly "negro" according to the prevailing Western stereotype did much to shatter the myth of Black mental inferiority. At the same time Blyden was an accomplished theologian and literateur well versed in the classics. As such, he rivalled the most erudite among Christian scholars and clergy of his day on the West's holy ground and bulwark of advanced civilization. Moses (1978) claims that "Black nationalists characteristically believed that the technological aspects of civilization were destined to develop collaterally with Protestantism" (p. 47). Early in his Liberian career, Blyden was certainly no exception. Yet theirs was a curious blend of Protestantism,

Ethiopianism and African civilizationism that dared attempt to reconcile the dominant Christian conceptual frame with a special African genius. Yet for all its mysticism, the Christianity of early Black nationalists was at the same time political. Because the Bible had been used by the West politically to justify their enslavement of Blacks, Christian Black nationalists used the Bible to find contrary evidence. The quotation, "Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hand to God" echoed again and again between 1850 and 1933.

The early Black nationalists held a conception of the nature of humankind that was remarkably congruent with that of traditional African societies. Blyden was probably the first to acknowledge the similarity in views: human nature that was basically egalitarian, non-exploitative, and capable of understanding and living in harmony with the physical world. Moreover, this temperament was the expressed will of God.

> . . . whites who are morally weak, were allowed to develop a civilization which has perverted the nature of man. Non-whites, who have retained their humanity or humaneness, will restore the balance of nature and thus fulfill the will of God, by struggling against the inhumanity of whites. All humanity will benefit. The political struggle and the spiritual struggle are one. (McGuire, 1974, p. 79)

In this way Africans like Blyden, Crummell and Turner used Christianity in an attempt to comprehend the brutal circumstances of the slave trade and its aftermath, which displaced Africans in the natural order. Even when Blyden chided Europe for its moral turpitude, he was not suggesting as Europe did of Africa, any innate inferiority but a deliberate, conscious choice. In retrospect it could be argued that they could have mirrored their oppressors by alleging Black supremacy. This it appears, they never did.

Lynch (1967) and Moses (1978) suggest that the influence of European "romantic racialism" which paralleled nationalism with its interpretation of nationalities as part of the Divine plan affected Blyden profoundly. Blyden's mystical Christianity is revealed in this quote:

> As in every form of the inorganic universe we see some noble variation of God's thought and beauty, so in each separate man, in each separate race, something of the absolute is incarnated. The whole of mankind is a vast representation of the Deity. Therefore we cannot extinguish any race either by conflict or amalgamation without serious responsibility. (Blyden, The African Problem and the Method of Its Solution, cited in Brotz 1966, p 138)

The Christian concept of God and man's indebtedness to a beneficient creator permeated Blyden's thought. Instead the nobler Christian ideals of sacrifice and service supported Blyden's eventual critique of the West. Blyden did not challenge the tenets of Christianity, but spoke out against the misdeeds and reprehensible actions of unscrupulous Christians. Given the social context of the late nineteenth century, and Blyden's upbringing, it seems plausible that he should have clung to Christianity as tenaciously as he did. Livingston (1971), Lynch (1967) and Brotz (1966) hinted that there was a gaping contradiction in one who was himself so highly Westernized and openly critical of Western ways. What is sometimes missed is that because Blyden was in some ways, thoroughly a man of nineteenth century Western civilization he was uniquely qualified to expose its contradictions. While he did his best to reconcile Christianity with the future of Africa, this study found that his intentions were undoubtedly Afrocentric.

His love of and preference for the classics was sustained because he believed them free of racism. As a classical scholar, Blyden no doubt retained many aristocratic notions reminiscent of the aristocratic biases

Emoungu attributes to Renaissance ideology. He seems to have been chiefly involved with the development of a leadership class that would lead Liberia and the race to greatness. Though he was indirectly concerned with the masses of African people in his attempts to vindicate the race, he directed his energies toward the relatively privileged elements in society who could afford the luxury of higher education. In this way he pre-empted DuBois who was to argue later for a vanguard of the "talented tenth" (1903).

Though the classics constituted a great deal of Blyden's educational preparation, he was concerned with what he termed "'the heuristic method' whereby students would seek self-education through use of library resources to augment understandings broached in class" (Livingston, 1971, p. 439). Throughout his educational activities Blyden stressed the atmosphere of learning. The students were to be carefully nurtured intellectually and morally, learning from mentors and peers. Blyden's vision of the unique African genius or personality was applied in his pedagogy.

> . . . the goal was to draw out those natural characteristics, those racial idiosyncrasies inherent in the African's nature. By drawing out, rather than cramming in, the pupil was taught not only to think, but to think along lines congenial to his instinctual genius. Blyden's entire understanding of racial characteristics led him to believe that nay properly educated individual would recognize his destiny as shaped and directed by the "destiny of the races." (Ibid., p. 40)

Livingston (1971) further suggests that Blyden's search for his own identity was reflected in his plans and designs for education Blyden experienced, as did the numbers of highly educated Africans after him who imbibed Western culture, exclusion from full participation in or acceptance by Western culture. Geiss (1974) and Moses (1978) suggest

that it is precisely from this painful cleavage that Pan-Africanism arises. Blyden was totally convinced that this was a permanent arrangement; hence Afrocentric education "avoided this bifurcated psyche" (Livingston, 1971, p. 442). So convinced was he of African spiritual superiority that he eschewed commerce, politics and industry and ultimately conceded to European colonial control. These things he averred, suited the European temperament not the African's (Ibid., p. 441). His tenacity to this position estranged him from younger intellectuals late in life when agitation began for self-rule (Lynch, 1967).

Blyden's enduring portrait of the African personality pre-empted the later Afrocentric literary explosions among French and Spanish speaking Africans, negritude and negrismo (July, 1964). Like Blyden, these literary expressions praised Africanity.

Using Emoungu's contextual frame, it is obvious that Blyden's views were partially congruent with the Educational Adaptation ideology. He certainly championed the idea of Divinely ordained "natural" racial differences which were perfectly acceptable. As for "equality," Blyden's understanding of the term was probably strikingly similar to his pragmatic heir, Garvey. That is, equality meant equal opportunity to maintain racial integrity apart from whites in a model African nation.

Major biographers of Blyden and Garvey frequently point to the difficulties each had with mulattos (Lynch, 1967; Holden, 1966; Martin, 1976; Livingston, 1971; Cronon, 1969). Seldom is the situation viewed in relation to the larger social fabric of color and hair politics that characterized much of the African race's internal strife. Instead

problems of these two ebony-hued Africans, Blyden and Garvey are reduced in isolation to mere personality problems. At least one Afrocentric historian, Chancellor Williams, argued that the mulatto identity problem and perpetual tendency to disavow inherited Africanity has been responsible for the race's undoing (Williams, 1974).

Despite his human failings and layers of complexities, Blyden remains a cornerstone in Afrocentric studies. Tempered greatly by the dominant ideology's nineteenth century manifestation, Blyden managed to carve out an intellectual niche which not only distinguished him but influenced the lives of Pan-Africanists in generations to come (Billingsley, 1970; July, 1964, 1967; Livingston, 1971).

The Disciple

Shortly before Blyden died he read Casely-Hayford's Ethiopia Unbound (1911) and was moved to write that it was "worth his entire life to discover a disciple" (Livingston, 1971, p. 443). Casely-Hayford promoted Blyden's ideas after his death and honored his memory by helping J. E. Bruce of New York offer prizes to African students on both sides of the Atlantic on topics relating to Blyden's work (Ofosu-Appiah, 1975).

The lives and ideas of the two men were in many ways parallel. Both were thoroughly Western educated, distinguished intellectuals. Neither Blyden nor Casely-Hayford was confined only to one field. Both contributed to journalism and started newspapers, lectured publicly, traveled outside and inside Africa where they observed and reflected upon local customs, demonstrated leadership in educational activities, wrote books and generally labored to put the plight of African people before

the world. Casely-Hayford never achieved the international stature of Blyden nor was he unique among his peers. Thirty-four years Blyden's junior, Casely-Hayford was representative of a small but vocal group of West Africans who were keenly aware of the nature of colonial domination. Moreover, Casely-Hayford departed from Blyden's stance of leaving politics to the Europeans. His legacy to the former Gold Coast and West Africa was as a forerunner of nationalism and global Pan-Africanism.

The years that separated Blyden and Casely-Hayford's maturity attuned the emerging Western educated elite to the consequences of Western commercial and political penetration of the continent. In the mid-nineteenth century some Africans secured advanced schooling and were permitted to hold upper level jobs commensurate with their educational attainment. By the turn of the century, as Casely-Hayford stepped into full maturity, the British colonial administration turned against highly educated Africans. The colonial government began to view them as troublemakers and accordingly limited their advancement in government careers. The Western educated elite were troublemakers precisely because, like Casely-Hayford, they used their command of Western political ideals, law and history to argue for African rights. Ironically by attempting to create an educated class through whom they could easily rule, the West had created the opposite. McGuire (1974) observed, "The educated elite benefited from the colonial presence and the education it had brought but education created ambitions which had heretofore not existed" (p. 166). On the opposite side of the Atlantic, African intellectuals in the United States were similarly blocked from advancement.

Whereas Blyden chafed at the idea of Africans entering an area of Western proclivity, politics, (Livingston, 1971; Lynch, 1967) Casely-Hayford and his contemporaries plunged into colonial administration issues. Blyden's pronouncements of the "African personality" were soon echoed by Casely-Hayford's "African nationality." Reinforcement of the notion of positive African distinctiveness may have been in response to increasing patterns of segregation, which were widely pronounced during the first six decades of the nineteenth century. By the 1890s, "the British began various British-only social practices in the Gold Coast," McGuire (1974) observed. This insulting exclusion from public facilities and services reinforced the unity of the African Western educated elite worldwide.

Casely-Hayford's Afrocentrism is vividly apparent in Gold Coast Native Institutions (1903) which bore a remarkable resemblance to Blyden's African Life and Customs (1908), and his metaphorical autobiography, Ethiopia Unbound (1911). Like Blyden, Casely-Hayford considered himself an educator and his lifelong dream was of establishing an Afrocentric institution of higher education, Mfantsipim University. Ofosu-Appiah (1975) argued that Casely-Hayford's support for Ghana's Achimota school was secured only when he believed it could act as a seed for Mfantsipim. Casely-Hayford also reflected the traditional African value of collectivity and argued that the appropriate role for the Western educated elite was working alongside traditional officials (chiefs) to represent African interests. He argued:

> The time will never be when it will be possible to dissociate the educated African from his uneducated brother. We made this quite deliberately and we made it with the approval of our people. (Sampson, 1969, p. 62)

Casely-Hayford's travels and studies enabled him to grasp an insight that certainly Blyden did not: that the African dilemma emanated not from individual persons or governments, but from a worldwide system (Sampson, 1969, p. 63).

Casely-Hayford was Christian, as was Blyden and his contemporary, Woodson. Casely-Hayford's Christianity was tempered a great deal by his cherished reverence for traditional African cosmology. He articulated the conflict between Christianity and African religious philosophy and attempted to analyze it. A speaker from Ethiopia Unbound (1911) admonished, "Do not believe that you know a people if you have not ascended to their Gods" (frontpiece). Key is the fact that Casely-Hayford saw basic Christianity to be in harmony with general principles of African cosmology but criticized its contemporary manifestation. McGuire (1974) claimed that

> Hayford felt that the Europeans had lost contact with the values and vital force of Christianity and that their missionary efforts had the effect of weakening the Africans in order to set them up for colonial control. (p. 85)

He foresaw the genocidal possibilities inherent in Christianity when he argued

> If my people are to be saved from national and racial death, they must be proved as if by fire--by the practice of a virile religion, not by following emasculated sentimentalities which men shamelessly and slanderously identify with the Holy One of God, His son, Jesus Christ. (Casely-Hayford, 1911, p. 75)

The sting of racism no doubt pushed Casely-Hayford to establish a research institute in the former Gold Coast, at around the same time Woodson launched his ASNLH. Again, the focus of his activity was Afrocentric, and in this instance, was a direct antecedent of Afrocentric Black Studies.

While Casely-Hayford recognized the value of Western education, its worth lay chiefly in the tools it provided one with to labor for Africa. Exposure to Western education and culture advanced the African in the colonial regime; at the same time however, "eager adoption of Western culture by the black man was considered to be a betrayal of the masses" (McGuire, 1974, p. 186).

Retention of African culture was a major concern among Casely-Hayford's contemporaries. Its significance is that it shows the extent to which psychological dependence was challenged by the group in which it could potentially have the greatest inroads. Casely-Hayford realized that Western educated Africans had great potential to agitate for change by knowing the system inside out. While doing this in all the Western trappings, Casely-Hayford urged the maintenance of African values and customs (McGuire, 1974; Ofosu-Appiah, 1975). The National Congress of British West Africa was the offspring of Casely-Hayford's efforts to organize professionals and intellectuals from the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast to affirm their political unity and agitate for colonial reforms.

Casely-Hayford's generation advanced the context of the Pan-African struggle in its educational aspect by decidedly pursuing professional studies and careers formerly closed to Blacks (Educational Adaptation). The strategy of Educational Adaptation promulgated in the United States was, by the beginning of the twentieth century, impractical in West Africa. The colonial administration required if not desired the collusion of certain elite members of the African majority. In the United States sheer numbers (or lack thereof) rendered a similar

arrangement unnecessary. Because of colonialism's required collusion, what Casely-Hayford and his contemporaries grappled with was the colonial challenge to African cultural integrity. They refused to abandon either African traditions or the masses in order to "play ball" with colonial authorities.

Casely-Hayford's life, like Blyden's, exemplified Afrocentrism at its best. He was perpetually concerned with African integrity and intellectual autonomy, even if his political vision entailed acceptance of an overarching British empire (McGuire, 1974). He was in direct communication with major intellectual contributors to continental nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Black education. McGuire (1974) indicates that a network existed between Casely-Hayford and Blyden, Garvey, DuBois, Agbebi, Washington, Aggrey, Duse Mohammed and Walters (p. 250). McGuire (1974) further argues that

> The newspapers, correspondence and the substance of the Washington-DuBois and Garvey-DuBois controversies, indicate that beyond the specifics of differences in opinion and style, there was, during the period 1900-1930 a Washington-Garvey-Hayford axis in black thought which was somewhat different from the DuBois school. The Washington-Garvey-Hayford axis seemed to put a high priority on independent economic development, and on strong social and cultural cohesion within the black community. . . . Much of the African elite sympathized with Garvey and Washington, rather than with their counterpart, DuBois. (p. 275)

This is tempting as a point of departure since it presents, as McGuire (1974) points out, an interesting cleavage along class lines, and should certainly be an area of future research. What is indisputable is Casely-Hayford's impact on the formulation and preservation of African identity and his role in West African nationalism. From the perspective of this, equally important contributions were his visualization of an Afrocentric

institution of higher learning (which was in part responsible for the establishment of Achimota School), and contributions to the repository of Afrocentric research.

The Father of Black History

Carter G. Woodson was nine years Casely-Hayford's junior and a continent away. The year he defended his dissertation at Harvard (1912), Blyden quietly passed away. The same year the ASNLH was formed, Casely-Hayford's Gold Coast Research Society formed. Yet this is a web of intellectual connection between the three men that links almost a century of Black thought. Africans dominated by the West in various parts of the globe experienced conditions similar enough to engender similar response. Carter Woodson chafed at the same kinds of indignities in his space and time, as had Blyden and Casely-Hayford.

Woodson's prominence in Black intellectual history is shadowed by the towering figure of DuBois, who pleaded the case of Black oppression with style and eloquence. Woodson did not have the range of mastery in literature and the social sciences that DuBois did, nor did he have much white support. Woodson considered himself a radical (Romero, 1971) and is remembered as a Garvey sympathizer (Jackson-Pryde, 1980). Significantly when the NAACP and the integrationists launched their vitriolic "Garvey must go" offensive, Woodson "discreetly pleaded lack of sufficient knowledge of the Garvey movement to answer meaningfully" (Martin, 1976, p. 324).

Woodson's Miseducation of the Negro (1933) echoed the thoughts of Blyden. There was no direct quote or reference to Blyden anywhere in the

volume yet the major arguments and occasional phrases were strikingly similar. One thread that runs through the entire fabric of Miseducation is Woodson's argument on behalf of Blacks' unique racial gifts. This was certainly a component of Blyden's "African personality" thrust. Woodson, again like Blyden, chided those Blacks who were satisfied to merely imitate what whites were doing.

Special ire was reserved for those who abandoned the struggling Black masses. The arrogance of the Liberian mulatto elite and their disregard of the Black masses and hinterland people was especially repugnant to Blyden. Woodson too demonstrated a fondness for the common folk in his efforts to render Black history accessible to the masses via several strategies and his quiet testimony to them in the little volume, The Rural Negro (1930). During the height of the Garvey movement, Woodson's ASNLH was favorably commented upon by the Negro World and Martin (1976) reports that "Woodson himself had actually taken the initiative in writing Garvey requesting permission to publish in his paper" (p. 86). The Negro World's target audience was precisely the masses.

Brought up in the segregated milieu of the United States among a designated "minority group," Woodson never visited Africa or any predominantly Black nation. He was unable to see first-hand the congruence among the struggles of African people. This must account in some measure for his reluctance to wholeheartedly endorse global Pan-Africanism. He relied on "truth" and "logic" which combined with his knowledge of history, established his reverence for the African past.

Butler (1981) demonstrated that Woodson's educational views, which in all probability were influenced by Blyden, were in content quite similar

to Paulo Freire. Caught between the Sycl la of capitalism and the Charybdis of the U.S. Communist Party's "vanguard" offering to Blacks, devoid of extensive international experience, Woodson was hard pressed to consider yet another overarching framework. Woodson had been taught to prize historical objectivity. He seems not to have questioned the soundness of the assumption, but strove for "objectivity" constantly in his work. He did question Western historiographers who used "history as propaganda" (Woodson, 1926). As a result his writings tend to dispassionately state facts while lacking vivid Afrocentric interpretations characterized in the works of later scholars such as Rodney (1972), Williams (1974), Ben Jochannan (1972), Bengu (1976) and Asante and Vandi (1980). Nevertheless, Woodson in the context of his times contributed a great deal to Afrocentric scholarship.

Shepperson (1960) credited Woodson with generating a great deal of enthusiasm among early continental African nationalists. He cited Aggrey as an example of one who argued the importance of Woodson's efforts (p. 309). Woodson and other Diasporan Africans contributed to "a complicated Atlantic triangle of influences" (p. 312), in conceptualization and the provision of the sheer raw material of history.

Notes

1. Jones's name was linked for 30 years to the idea of Black industrial education, and to the purse strings funding it. He worked with Aggrey of Africa, contributed to policy formation in East Africa but refused to use any terms which might indict the white South. He also refused to join the NAACP, disavowed any thought of "Negro independence," abhorred Black radicalism and eventually severed ties with Woodson whom he once recommended and supported and DuBois. See King (1971, p. 21-57) and DuBois (1921).

C H A P T E R V

CONCLUSION

"Mpanda farasi wawili, hupasuka misamba"
(A rider of two horses is split in two--Swahili)

Black Studies, the academic discipline, emanates from and is congruent with the overall thrust for Black liberation (Alkalimat, 1969; Allen, 1970; Asante, 1979; Bailey, 1973; Cruse, 1971; Harding, 1974; Hare, 1969a,b,c, 1975; Karenga, 1982; Marable, 1983; Pinkney, 1976; Turner, 1970). This pits the discipline against traditional Western views of knowledge neutrality, creating the tension of ideological cleavage (Dixon, 1976; Ben Jochannan, 1972; Karenga, 1982; Myers, 1984; Sessoms, 1983). Yet at a vulnerable moment of liberalism, U.S. colleges were goaded into initial acceptance of Black Studies.

Energized by the successes of African people in the struggle for civil rights, strong idealistic African college students in the United States during the late 1960s initiated a process of evaluation and redefinition. This led to the realization that the school was a major vehicle of Black subordination and ideological control. The realization quickly escalated to demands for curricular relevance and an important aspect of the Pan-African struggle was ignited. The fact that the subsequent introduction of Black Studies programs and courses paralleled the resurgence of Black nationalist ideology among Africans in the United States (Pinkney, 1976; Marable, 1983) is generally obscured beneath a morass of objections and "concerns" leveled at Black Studies. The historical connections of modern Black Studies with the convictions of

Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson were obfuscated as well. White administrators and professors expressed a great deal of concern about what they argued was a "new" discipline with such questionable, political beginnings (Task Force et al., 1976; Lewis 1969). The intensely nationalistic underpinnings troubled administrators and decision-makers (Karenga, 1982). Initially, Pinkney (1976) surmised "the major concern of white administrators seemed to be that the courses and programs would prove to be training grounds for cadres of blacks eager to overthrow the American system" (p. 78). But what the Academy overlooked was that they were the brunt of a frontal attack that challenged and threatened their ideological supremacy.

It was in fact the spearhead of Black students aimed at the Academy's vulnerability that won gains for traditionally disparate groups (i.e., Spanish speaking ethnicities, women, white immigrant ethnicities, physically less able). Moreover, Black students' insistence minimally upon input, if not control, consequently redefined the notion of student power. Karenga (1982) cites:

> As Hare (1972:33) expressed it, 'Black Studies was (essentially) a mass movement and a mass struggle based on the notion that education belongs to the people and the idea is to give it back to them.' Given this, Hare argues that "Most crucial to Black Studies, Black education, aside from its ideology of liberation, would be the community component of its methodology." (p. 365)

This unprecedented emphasis on community prompted definitional questions and issues of control which challenged the monolithic cultural hegemony promoted by the Academy. For years the Academy perpetuated hegemony by smoke-screening the Western definitional system as "universal" and discouraging any critical alternatives by arguing there were none

(Karenga, 1982).

Significantly, a vital component of the dominant systematics is the designation of the "other," the outsider who by being, gives definition to the West and engages a dialectical relationship (Fanon, 1965; Kovel, 1970; Memmi, 1967). Since the West prizes itself as a white civilization, the rest of the world becomes the "non-white other" (Kovel, 1970). African people constitute a sizeable portion of the "non-white" world and because of slavery are engaged in a unique, unenviable dialectical relationship with the West permeated by distrust, distortion, hostility and confusion (Ben Jochannan, 1972; Frazier, 1956; Cruse, 1967; Hare, 1965; Fanon, 1965, 1967; McGee, 1973; Karenga, 1982; Rodney, 1972; Williams, 1972; Woodson, 1933). Presently the impact and social consequences of the slavery experience are lost in a vat of social amnesia. Generally, Blacks and whites in the United States collude in the "deep sleep"--Blacks running away from the experience as a mirror that defines their peculiar relationship to the modern world and whites insisting on immunity from crimes committed by their ancestors.

Afrocentric scholars and Black nationalists on the other hand perceived that the "covenant with death and agreement with hell," was a necessary reference point for understanding African identity. More often than not the identity crisis sparked by abrasion with the Western world pushed them to this realization (Garvey, 1977; Geiss, 1974; Livingston, 1971; July, 1967; Lynch, 1967; McGuire Moses, 1978; Moss, 1981; X, 1965). This seems to have been the case with Blyden, Casely-Hayford and Woodson.

While the material aspect of African struggle has commanded the bulk of scholarly attention, the war of ideas, though subtle, has been equally

persistent (Akpan, 1977; Bailey, 1973; Blyden, 1857, 1872, 1874, 1890, 1905, 1969; Bruns, 1971; Casely-Hayford, 1904, 1906, 1911; Chinweizu, 1975; Cruse, 1967, 1971; Diop, 1974; DuBois, 1961; Garvey, 1977; Hare, 1972; Hoover, 1968; Horton, 1969; July, 1967; Kent, 1972; Lynch, 1967, 1971; Martin, 1976; Morgan, 1981; Moses, 1978; Moss, 1981; Ofosu-Appiah, 1975; Thorpe, 1971; Turner and McGann, 1980; Woodson, 1933; X, 1965). A significant aspect of this intellectual battle has been waged during the last fifteen years by Black psychologists. These scholars challenged the Western conceptual framework operative in personality and development theories (Akbar, 1971, 1976, 1981; Baldwin, 1976, 1980; Cross, 1971, 1980; Fanon, 1965, 1967; Jackson, 1979, 1982; Jones, 1980; King et al., 1976; Nobles, 1976, 1980; Richards, 1980; Thomas, 1971, 1974, 1978; Thomas and Sillen, 1972; Welsing, 1970; White, 1980). White (1980) asserted that it was virtually impossible to understand Black people using the "traditional" theories white psychologists developed to explain white people. The use of a white middle class frame of reference, White asserted, distorts Blacks and buys into a "pathological model where Blacks are products of 'cultural deprivation' and 'matriarchal families'" (p. 5).

Akbar (1981) proceeds with the assumption that Africans in the United States were not solely victimized by physical oppression but also "intellectual oppression." This he defines as "the abusive use of ideas, labels and concepts geared toward the mental degradation of a people" (p. 18). Akbar shrewdly points out that accepted, "established" psychology has yet to explain two essential variables governing human behavior: (1) historical antecedents or behavioral determinants, and (2)

the effects of inhuman conditions on the human being. Consequently, "traditional" psychology intervention models attempted to eliminate many Black survival strategies and behaviors by rendering them pathological and criminal. Welsing (1970, 1980) also opened up the discussion to the inherent pathology of oppression. A psychiatrist, Welsing (1970) argued that the pathology of white supremacy was a neurotic drive.

Nobles (1976, 1980) broke with Western models by positing that African philosophy was the foundation of Black psychology. Departing totally from the pathological model of Black psychology which stressed negative reactions to being Black in white "America," Nobles argued that "it was the positive features of basic African philosophy which informed the values, customs, attitudes and behavior of Africans in Africa and the 'New World'" (1980, p. 23). For Nobles, there is no doubt that Africans are "one people, with a distinct ethos" (Ibid., p. 31). The study of African philosophy revealed several themes which were visible in Black psychology. They included:

1. spirituality and the primacy of religion
2. the fundamental unity of all living things
3. fluidity of time
4. concept of death and immortality through remembrance and recognition
5. primacy of collective unity and rights and responsibilities of kinship over rights of the individual. (Ibid.)

Thomas (1971, 1979) was concerned with "instructive intervention" by Black psychologists. This he contended, would facilitate change in Black attitudes, social competence and personal fulfillment. He rejected treatment-centered therapy that focussed on the individual in favor of the engagement of community in the resolution of psychological issues. Richards (1980) was cited earlier in the study for her clever attack on

one of the West's ideological strongholds: the notion of progress. Richards maintained that so entrenched is the idea of progress as a universally desired phenomenon for all people in all situations, that it has persistently escaped serious scrutiny. Richards argued that Africans need to abandon the Eurocentric concept of "progress" and redefine it. Cross (1971) was also concerned with the prevalence and impact of Western thought and science and stressed a need for "psychological liberation under conditions of oppression" (p. 13). This study has shown that many of the attitudes and behaviors these Black psychologists are concerned with are nurtured by the school.

The dynamics of the school and the curriculum are metaphors for the external structural arrangements in society. Any strategies for remedying Black education must fundamentally recognize this. To recommend merely shifting from a Eurocentric to an Afrocentric curricular focus or worse, substituting the present menu of ideas with some new "hybrid" of both, is inadequate. Radical structural rearrangements go hand-in-hand with radical theoretical considerations.

"Traditional" academic practices that involve research or further study of a problem, listing its features and suggesting piecemeal strategies for change without commensurately advocating changes in the sociopolitical and economic systems in which African people struggle are self-defeating. Moreover, it amounts to an implicit acknowledgement that sociopolitical and economic systems are good and valid, and that all that need be done is to alter the people to fit into a presumed, workable structure.

Many dissertations in education attempt to conclude on a "high" note

or at least present a neatly sketched model of how the problem can be solved. Readers hoping for an easy or quick resolution for the issues raised in this study will find little solace in the following summary observations. No diagram or pedagogical panacea is offered as the complexity of the situation mitigates against using a "band-aid" treatment for a massive wound.

This study concludes that while there are many factors which inform the scope and direction of Black education, they are intricately connected with the overall thrust of African people for self-direction and autonomy (liberation). As such, the function of Black education at this point in time is eminently political. As the chief architect of academic Black Studies, Nathan Hare noted, "Black education must be education for liberation, or at least for change" (Hare, 1972, p. 33). Karenga (1982) noted that

> The value focus for Black Studies must be proactive rather than reactive, toward social change rather than protest or servile careerism, toward critique and correctives rather than sterile statements on social pathologies and the oppression which assumedly engendered them. (p. 373)

The potential of Black Studies as an academic discipline would seem to indicate that it presents an opportunity to develop a possible model for what Black education should be. This study concludes that this perception is ahistorical and consequently, blind to the harsh political realities that inform the academic department system (McHenry, 1977). The dilemmas Black Studies continue to face include declining enrollments, meager fiscal resources, placement in institutional sidelines, faculty who have to be jointly appointed (undermining the discipline's ability to stand alone) and organization along Eurocentric

lines (Brisbane, 1974; Colon, 1980; Fuller, 1974; Hare, 1972; Millette, 1981; Smith and Yates, 1980; Task Force et al., 1976). Given these constraints, it is unrealistic to expect such modeling from what Woodson (1933) termed, "education under outside control."

While its present placement in the Academy does not totally permit it to execute its required Afrocentric (political) emphasis, this is not a negative indictment of the discipline. There are important tasks that can be carried out even in its limited present manifestation.

Ground already gained must be steadfastly maintained. Black Studies personnel cannot afford to be complacent and must continuously and vigorously work on survival and development strategies. It seems reasonable to predict that unless there is a major reorganization of the dominant ideology (which must simultaneously be a goal of Afrocentric educators) that there will be no shift in the attitude of the Academy which will insure Black Studies' institutionalization. Vision and planning should be tempered with a pragmatic pessimism.

Another primary goal that Black Studies must achieve is the solidification of ties with neighboring Black communities. While physical presence in white and many historically Black institutions is tenuous, Black Studies' presence in the Black community need not be. Black Studies personnel and students should offer themselves to the community in a service, rather than a "leadership" role. Joint projects and programs that avail the community of the host institution's resources, and appropriate, relevant research should be offered.

Afrocentric educators should attend to the internal organization of curricula so that the content is consciously structured to decimate the

chains of intellectual dependency and self-hate legion among too many Blacks (scholars included) who are devoid of an Afrocentric perspective. Afrocentric thinkers are charged with the responsibility of developing a "race first" analytical frame, and striving to have its legitimacy acknowledged. This is taking up the struggle at the point of the war of ideas. At this moment in history, it is the most important aspect of the Pan-African struggle (Biko, quoted in Arnold, 1978). Lest we Africans create the bases inside and outside academia where the dimensions of our struggle can be interpreted and developed, Black Studies will remain merely "a black window in the ivory tower." The graver consequence is that another generation of precious youth will be lost to the dominant ideology.

Educators of all hues need to recognize the school's role in cultural reproduction and the potential teachers have for facilitating or challenging the process. The complexities of global politics in the latter twentieth century suggest that it is in the interest of total humanity to acknowledge, if not become familiar with, differing world views.

The connection this study made between Black Studies and its intellectual antecedents indicate that it is a resilient tradition, receding at times, but unlikely to permanently go away. Its manifestations alter as do the material conditions affecting the lives of African people. The contemporary expression of this Afrocentric tradition in an academic environment offers limited possibilities, but ones that must be seized. For Afrocentric educators, the academic environment must become one where the struggle for the minds of African

people is waged relentlessly.

The task remains with all educators to move from armchair scholarship and classroom lectures to a compelling understanding of the politics of knowledge that prompts activism for change.

> As we examine and understand the psychology of knowledge and realize that the choice of conceptual system is ours, power becomes the ability to define reality. (Myers, 1984, p. 8)

In terms of the politics of knowledge, academicians hold a power-brokering status. We can issue a basic call to global consciousness and appreciation of differing world views or we can defend the fragmented, mechanistic, materialist world view dominating the plant presently as the only one. Afrocentric Black Studies offers a model for the restoration of global consciousness.

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APPENDIX B

From Asante,M. and Vandi,A. eds. (1980) Contemporary Black Thought
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16

PAN-AFRICANISM IN WORLD HISTORY

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The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were very important landmarks in human history. The whole of humanity was rocked to its foundations by a series of social, political, and cultural explosions. Europe, in particular, having sucked enough intellectual and cultural nutriants from the old Mediterranean world, began to develop its scientific and technological structures for what the world was later to call the Age of Exploration or the age of Vasco da Gama. This emergence of Europe, the pupil of Greece, Israel, and Rome, was destined to alter the relationship between people and other *people*, people and *nature*, and people and their *God*. The emergence of Europe as the theater of international political and economic development was certainly very crucial to the relationship between European and non-European human beings. Not only did the European seafaring peoples, particularly the Portuguese, perfect their naval and seafaring techniques in their bid for world naval power status, but they also employed their newly developed science and technology to compete and overthrow of their Muslim and Arab rival states to the East. Though Europeans did not establish full hegemony during this period, their power and influence continued to grow and expand, and they soon began to elbow their way through all the corridors of power around the world. The series of victories they scored in the Mediterranean, Africa, Asia, and the Americas, inflated their egos until they began to define themselves as above and beyond the rest of humanity, which, in their view, has fallen

behind in the race for civilization and economic development (Sachs, 1976).

The inherent tendency of Eurocentric peoples to conquer, dominate, and expand led them to consider themselves as the divinely chosen mentors and guides of "the uncivilized human race"; hence, they undertook to refashion the world in their own image. It was the chauvanistic insistence of Eurocentric peoples upon governing humanity that brought *woe* upon the human race. The truth of the matter is that the contemporary crisis in race relations, and the mounting, exacerbated tensions between East and West and between South and North, are clearly the results of earlier, erroneous Eurocentric views of the world.

In the poetic language of Frantz Fanon (1963), the dichotomous relationship between Europe and the rest of us created a Manichean world. Perhaps Fanon more than anyone else has been most eloquent and successful in showing the tremendous psychological and psychohistorical damages and injuries inflicted by the European expansionists in their ever acquisitive drive and instinct to exploit and rule the entire globe.

Besides the alteration of the relationship between European and other peoples, there was also the changing pattern of the relationship between human beings and their nature. The rise of Europe as a beehive of scientific and technological innovations was destined to affect the ecological balance between people and their environments. The arrival of the Industrial Revolution, which took place several generations after the European exploration and colonization of many areas of the world, again spelled disaster, for the peoples of the Third World in particular. Europe was bent on conquering the world, and in her bid for domination, she hesitated little to tamper and tinker with the ecological systems of the conquered peoples. The scientific and technological encounter of Industrial Europe with the ecological systems of the oppressed world wrought havoc, for in their frantic efforts to relentlessly exploit Third World resources, the colonizing and imperialist powers of Europe cared little about the consequences of their acts. They were only interested in accumulating wealth, and the best way to do so was to introduce technology and science so as to get the job done with little delay and at a cheap cost. As a result of this attitude, the Third World became the source of raw materials and Europe became the beehive of industrial production. The technological disparity between the peoples of Europe and the Third World became the symbol of inequality in the world, thereby leading to the differences in attitudes toward nature in the two antipodal zones of the world. Whereas the European application of science and technology in the natural world has led Europeans to take the position that nature is a

self-replenishing quarry from which people can obtain the much-needed stones to sculpt and translate into reality the images fashioned by their perception, the unregretted absence of such scientific theories and technological innovation and sophistication in the Third World allowed its people to maintain their sanity and traditional view of nature. Asante (1979) has eloquently demonstrated how we can begin to view the world in the alternative paradigms of Afrocentricism and Asiocentricism. Rather than see nature as object of human activity and manipulation, the Afrocentric man, whose life is still governed by the dictates of ancient understandings, would venerate and propitiate the mystical forces believed to be lurking behind the natural elements. Hence, the Eurocentric man parted company with the rest of the world in the realm of psychological attitudes toward nature. Such fundamental differences in attitude, in part, account in Western colonial history for the ruthless exploitation and "thingification" of peoples who were not of European extraction (Chinweizu, 1975).

In our modest attempt to place Pan-Africanism in world history, we refuse to evade the circumstances that led to the deterioration and subsequent alteration of the relationship between Europeans and their God. During the glorious period of the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution, the better-educated classes in Europe began to totter in their commitment to Jesus and the Church. The once *sine qua non* Eurocentric Christianity was questionable. The wavering Europeans' belief in the Supreme Being was largely due to their advancement in scientific knowledge. The series of scientific and technological discoveries by the inquiring minds of industrial Europe were without immediate consequences. Principal among these consequences was the dramatic denunciation of the Church's message by a good number of Europe's best-educated fellows, primarily because of the controversy surrounding morality, the wisdom of human kind, and the so-called value-free scientific inquiry. This growing doubt among the intelligentsia opened a pandora's box full of mythologies and commandments under the rubric of science to explain and justify the subjugation and oppression of the Afrocentric and Asiocentric people. This radical change in the European intellectual's attitude toward the Heavenly Kingdom and its early representative not only affected the manner in which the European colonialists treated their vanquished subjects in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also put the leaders of the Christian church on the defensive; and many a devoted Christian, paradoxically, found in the victory of capitalism and industrial Europe an opportunity to reaffirm the validity of Christ's message and the cosmic challenge to save non-European souls in anticipation of the Saviour's long-awaited return to the New Jerusalem (Mazru, 1974).

Pan-Africanism as an ideology grew out of the soil of sorrow and misery of the transplanted Africans in the New World. Though many scholars have correctly identified the movement with the intellectual stirrings among the early leaders of the newly liberated Blacks in North America and the Caribbean, there is also the fact that the idea itself was an expression of identity and emotional dissatisfaction among the early generations of Black leaders. Having experienced the atrocities of slavery and the blatant racism of their White coinhabitants of the American continents, many of these men felt that they must create a new start for themselves. In defiance of the condition of semiservitude and open discrimination in their new home, many thought that their final realization of freedom and liberty could only come about in their ancestral home, Africa, the land which was deliberately blotted from their minds and whose history was denied by their former slave masters, became psychologically the functional equivalent of what Zion had meant to the Israelites who followed Moses out of the land of Egypt. Taking this biblical parallel as an analytical point of departure, many of these Black intellectuals saw their ancestral home as the New Zion, where the Black race has a rendezvous with destiny (Geiss, 1974).

Pan-Africanism as an ideology was a vague idea at first glance. The biblical analogy was uppermost in the minds of most of those who wished to return to Africa and start a new life for themselves and their families. To them Africa was a mystical place which was beckoning them from across the Atlantic to come home and make a contribution. Among the numerous Blacks returning to their ancestral home and become part of the African rise to historical prominence were those who did not see themselves as Africans and therefore felt it necessary to dispell the "wrong notions" that Blacks should return to Africa (Foner, 1971). This indifference in attitude and belief to the problem of Black liberation in the early period of postslavery in America and the Caribbean, resulted to the two major categories of Black-American responses to the Pan-African ideology. These categories include, the Global Pan-Africanists and the Diasporic Pan-Africanists. The main bone of content between the two categories was in the identifiable nationality of the New World Black person. Whereas the Global Pan-Africanists were advocating the creation of a state system or a homeland for those willing and able to make the return to the African Zion (Blyden, 1862), the Diasporic Pan-Africanists were content with their newly acquired American nationality and thus decided to hitch their psychohistorical wagon to the American Dream and its main instrument–the United States of America. The Diasporic Pan-Africanists were not necessarily hostile to the interests and welfare of their contemporaries, who were opting for the creation of an African Zion across the seas.

Instead, they were opposed to the massive transplantation back to Africa of the newly liberated Blacks under a hypocritical philanthropic machine. The truth of the matter is that those who advocated the Black Dream, enveloped in the American Dream, were logically paying their former masters in their own coin. After having heard the Jeffersons and the Madisons echoed the words of Locke in the firmaments of their intellectual debates on independence from Britain, the Diasporic Pan-Africans felt that they also deserved a piece of the "American Pie." Afterwards, they were citizens by virtue of birth and suffering. Born into families that had labored hard to build America, and having themselves mixed their labor with the American soil, they found it politically unwise and historically dangerous to accept the resettlement policies and programs of the American Colonization Society (Foner, 1971).

These two schools of thought have dominated Black intellectual life since the end of the slave trade. But in the United States of America, the dominant intellectual current has always been the Diasporic Pan-African strain. Though such Black leaders as Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington were quite aware of the efforts of men like Delaney and Blyden, they never supported their endeavors. Rather than simply put their eggs in the African basket, many Black leaders in the United States decided to try their luck in America, and so they channeled all the emotional and psychological energies of their fellow Blacks toward the struggle for full citizenship. This position was to a large extent, that of W.E.B. DuBois. Furthermore, DuBois never associated with the Global Pan-Africanist movement. He was bitterly opposed to the transplantation of African Americans from the United States to the continent of Africa (Isaacs, 1960). Like a number of his contemporary Jewish intellectuals of the pre-World War II era, he was very optimistic about the eventual assimilation of Blacks in the mainstream of the American system. In addition, he believed that the social and economic advancement of Black Americans would eventually have drastic and significant impact in the struggle for Black liberation and development elsewhere. The logic of DuBois was that Black advancement in one corner of the Western world would generate advancement in other parts of the world. Indeed, he advanced this argument up to the time of the Manchester Conference.

However, there was to be found dissent among the major actors in the Diasporic Pan-Africanist group. Three major subcategories of the movement emerged as a result of individual differences of the role of the movement within the leadership.

1. The Assimilationist group had as its basic position, the reiteration in the American Dream. The membership strongly believed that the destiny of African Americans in the United States is inextricably linked to the

future of those United States of America. Furthermore, they were to employ every conceivable legal and constitutional weapon in their search and struggle for solutions to the problems of African Americans. Having totally rejected the position of their parent movement, that America was a hopeless case and that Blacks had no future in the American society, they took to the politics of pluralism and compromise, long institutionalized by the founding fathers of the American Republic. The Assimilationist group had an element of realism in their analysis of the world situation of the post-1860s. Deeply concerned that the Americans of African ancestry had been almost virtually cut off from their cultural roots and had recognized the rapacity of the European powers in their bitter and fierce struggle for control of African lands, the leadership felt that the blood, sweat, and tears poured out on the American soil was beginning to yield fruits which would be denied to them if they were not firm enough in pressing their claims as citizens. Returning to Africa was a wrong recourse and a bad proposition. The argument further was, if the founding fathers of the American republic were barely able to slough off the yoke of their imperial kin, how much more difficult would it be for the newly liberated Blacks to ward off the imperial designs of Britain, France, and other European powers bent on raping Africans and their resources? In addition, there was the reluctance of many Black leaders to take the necessary risk of resettlement.

Edward Blyden (1862) reproached the leaders of the Assimilationist group for their refusal to accept the challenge to serve their race and uphold the Black pride with dignity in Africa. Whereas Blyden's followers were crossing the Atlantic in the same spirit as the enthusiastic Zionists bound for Israel in the heyday of the Zionist movement, the Assimilationists committed their efforts to "making it" in the American culture and society. They could not reckon with the back-to-Africa drive. Following Booker T. Washington's strategy of survival within a hostile White power structure, they envisioned in a tactical compromise and reluctant segregation, an opportunity to plot for future gains in the larger American system. Blyden and others denounced such political strategies for the African American as doomed to failure. Unable to see or foresee the possibilities of change in the American attitude of racial bigotry, the Global Pan-Africanists called for an immediate departure, and suggested that any further delay in departure to the ancestral home would only impede the pace and rate of development for the newly liberated African Americans. The logic of the Global Pan-Africanists however, did not carry the day, and the Assimilationists won the argument and proceeded in organizing the unconvinced Blacks for the political struggles that charac-

tenized the Civil Rights Movement of the late fifties and the early sixties (Blyden, 1862).

2. The Simulationist group was the second major subcategory in the Global Pan-Africanist movement. The fundamental belief of this body was that segregation of the races would be here for a long time, and that Black leaders have the responsibility to organize major institutions similar to those existing in the dominant White society. To the Simulationist group, the principle of separate mobilization of group resources and manpower within the general framework of the national economic and political system constituted the second best chance of enhancing and uplifting the African American in a segregated condition. There was also a strong recognition and apparent agreement that the two races do enjoy certain racial peculiarities and these can best be preserved through the process of dichotomization (Hawkins, 1962; Meier et al., 1971; Spencer, 1955).

3. The Black Nationalist group emerged as the third of the subcategories in the Global Pan-Africanist movement. This school of thought believes that the Black American has to fight an incessant battle against the racist forces in the United States. Because of the nature of the struggle for liberty, freedom, and territorial integrity, Blacks should seek a state of their own out of the states constituting the United States of America. The major difference between this group and its parent movement is its emphasis on a piece of land for its members, somewhere within the geopolitical borders of the United States of America. Their nationality, it seems, was psychologically and psychohistorically inseparable from the geographical place called the United States of America. The Republic of New Africa and the now defunct Nation of Islam were the most vocal advocates of this ideology. The most recent is the "Kingdom of Oyatunge," established in Beaufort County, South Carolina, on a piece of land donated by the state of South Carolina, ten years ago. The residents, all African Americans, born and reared in the United States, maintain their own government with no interference whatsoever from either the state of South Carolina or the U.S. federal government. A sign that reads, "You are now leaving the United States of America and entering the Kingdom of Oyatunge," is arrogantly placed at a point just before one enters the "Kingdom." In short, the Black Nationalists are those African Americans who wish to create their own polity somewhere in the continental United States of America (Browne and Rustin, 1968), where they can realize their own national ideals and forge their own destiny without the familiar interference of the dominant White society.

Any attempt to place Pan-Africanism in the context of world history without thoroughly recognizing the subtleties and tendencies within the

Black Community in the United States will proof futile. In fact, we are inclined to argue here that the conflicts now evident in the Pan-African Movement are clear manifestations of the latent differences and contradictions that were either deliberately or myopically kept out of public view by the community of suffering created by the blatant and collective oppression of the Afrocentric people, regardless of class, place of origin and nationality, and social status. When we begin to look at the evolution of the Movement in this light, we would not be surprised by the train of recent events in the Black world. A proposition related to the ones advanced earlier maintains that the Assimilationist position was destined to give the Black Community the opportunity to carve a place for some of its members in the growing bourgeois classes of the American society, but in so doing, Blacks would be paradoxically sowing the future seeds of discord. After having stormed the citadels of White power, African Americans were soon to find out that the Assimilationist policy cannot benefit all at once. In order to play the game of compromise and pluralism, some of the members of the Black Community must have the lion's share of the gains at the battle for equality. Those who are deprived of the fruits and spoils of this temporary victory must either accept the rules of communal politics or wage a class war against their more successful and prosperous brethren. This state of affairs, we submit, is now before us, and therefore the inevitable war of words that is currently reverberating in the firmaments of Black literary and political debates is no surprise.

The development of Pan-Africanism in the continent of Africa may be viewed as occurring in three distinct stages. The first stage was the importation of what we may refer to as *West-Atlantic Global Pan-Africanism*. This idea was largely propagated by the New World Blacks, who in many instances cast themselves in the role of civilizers and harbingers of the Christian message of salvation. Perhaps, because of their American Christian orientation, they unconsciously internalized the prejudices and biases of Western man vis-à-vis the rest of humanity. Many of them unquestionably believe in the inherent inferiority of the African culture and tradition vis-à-vis the superiority of the American civilization. It is their uncritical acceptance of Western values and norms that gave their brand of Pan-Africanism a different taste. Edward Blyden, a forerunner during this era, also felt that a rejuvenated Africa would be the product of the maturation and cross-pollination of Christian ethics, with the Christian spiritual message on the one hand, and the traditional African culture on the other. He was also a pioneer of the Negritudist Movement of the Senghors, Ceasires, and Damases, but he simply could not extricate himself from the intellectual and cultural webs of his times. As a result, he

accepted the racial theories and the scientific justifications of the leading scholars of his times. Painfully enough, he tried to give such theories different interpretations. Dr. Edward Blyden's significance and contribution, however, lie not only in the promotion of the archaic west-Atlantic brand of Pan-Africanism, but also in his intellectual watering and subsequent nurturing of what we refer to as *East-Atlantic Pan-Africanism*. This brand of Pan-Africanism was the ideological brainchild of the New World Blacks and their descendants, who assimilated themselves to the African continent and decided to provide themselves with the intellectual justification for their place and role in history. Arthur Porter, in his *Creoledom*, thoroughly describes the movement and its significant contribution in generating West-African unity. Furthermore, the writings of Casely-Hayford and Kobina Sekyi demonstrate the maturation of East-Atlantic Pan-Africanism and the willingness of its advocates to challenge both the Western missionaries and the zealots of West-Atlantic Pan-Africanism (Langley, 1973).

East-Atlantic Pan-Africanism was most successful in the abortive attempt to create the necessary unity among the westernized communities of Blacks scattered along the colonial settlements on the west coast of Africa. But Langley has demonstrated that the sense of West-African identity or unity was later replaced in West-African history by the strong assertion of territorial nationalisms. This is to say that the East-Atlantic Pan-Africanist idea really never took firm root. With the collapse of the newly established West-African National Congress, the westernized Africans along the British coast of West Africa began to grope for a new identity, to be found in the newly established colonial territorial units of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria. This willingness to embrace the colonial structure constituted a temporary setback for the Pan-African idea. The idea however, was to regain momentum only after the beginning of the nationalist movement for independence became a reality that the colonial rulers could ignore only at their own peril (Langley, 1973).

The arrival of the Nkrumahs, Kenyattas, and Azikiwes on the African political scene produced yet another brand of Pan-Africanism. This new concept was to be known as *Continental Pan-Africanism*. Absolute and total independence of Africa was the primary goal of the Movement. Prior to independence, one could argue, the Nkrumahs and the Kenyattas accepted in principal some form of the Global Pan-Africanist idea, which dangled the hope of eventual liberation of Africa from the tentacles of colonialism. It was indeed this hope of independence that later put an effective brake on the wheels of political unification for Africa. We are inclined to argue here that the granting of independence to Africa brought

two significant changes in the strategy and operations of the Pan-Africanist Movement. The conferring of national sovereignty to the variegated territorial units of Africa heightened the latent contradictions which, as shown in the case of African Americans in the United States, were kept from the political surface by the offensive heat of collective suffering under colonial rule. Whereas during the struggle for independence the African leaders were commiserating with one another in the postcolonial era, personal and group ambitions displaced collective African interest, and soon the comrades of yesterday became the archenemies of today. This fragmentation, resulting from the competing elites' desire to consolidate power over their colonially inherited territories, opened yet another pandora's box. This source of trouble for the African societies let loose a host of tribalistic ghosts who defied the exorcistic powers of the ablest of African politicians and leaders (Legum, 1972; Wallerstein, 1968). Soon the Pan-Africanist dream turned into a nightmare, and Africa's new rulers, whose commitments to the concretization of the Pan-Africanist idea have always been suspected, found it to their advantage to institutionalize the concept of continental unity. Nyang (1975) articulated in *Islam and Pan Africanism* that the institutionalization of the Pan-Africanist idea triggered and engineered a united Arab Africa with Black Africa, but created a gulf between the Africans in the Diaspora and their brethren in the African continent. Such a political arrangement also granted legitimacy and sanctity to the colonial boundaries. The African leaders began to caution each other about the charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its ruling against the interference of other states in the internal affairs of their neighbors. This sanctification of the inherited colonial boundaries condemned the African leaders to a life very much like that of the ancient Hebrews, whom Moses ordered not to convert their neighbors' wives. Unlike the Hebrews, however, the African leaders were bound by treaty agreements not to covert each other's territory.

What is interesting about this new development is that the institutionalization of the Pan-Africanist idea not only isolated the Diasporic Africans from the mainstream of the Movement, but it also conservatized the Movement. The revolutionary and fiery Pan-Africanists of yesterday are now the rulers of an independent Africa, their radical rhetoric has been tempered by the comfortable surroundings of their countries, and their agitation for greater African unity has changed to a call for greater intratribal unity and harmony. This radical change in the African leaders' concepts has affected the course of Pan-Africanism in Africa. Because of this, a number of new attitudes and tendencies have surfaced in the Movement. Among these is *Continental Pan-Africanism*, a version of the

Movement close to what Sinclair Drake has called elsewhere *Residential Pan-Africanism*. Fundamental to this line of thought is that Africa is an integral whole and that the destiny of Africans in general lies in the political and economic unification of all the territorial units. In the absence of this form of political and economic unity, they argue, Africa is doomed to be the tentacle of neocolonialism, and Africans will continue to be the drawers of water and the hewers of wood for the more united and integrated peoples and societies of Europe and the West in particular (Nkrumah, 1965).

In addition to the Continental Pan-Africanists are the *Pan-African Regionalists*, who espouse a different form of the Movement. They emphasize the concept of regionalism, where the level of unity and integration is of paramount importance. The conflict over the methods and level of unity has caused the greatest problem between Kwame Nkrumah and his presidential contemporaries. The Nkrumanists, for instance, called for the immediate unity of all of Africa; this was simultaneously dismissed as radical, utopian, and outrightly impractical. Some were willing to experiment with economic integration, few for limited political partnership, but the vast majority opposed any loss of sovereignty. Among the Regionalists were the *Negritudists* and the *Sub-Saharan Fighters*. These two subgroups in the Regionalist Movement share the common belief that the Sub-Saharan societies have a common cultural denominator which separates them from their Arab neighbors to the north. The *Negritudists* feel that Black-African values are separate and distinct from the Arabo-Berber's, and the quest for unity must and should begin in the Black-African Community first and should later be extended to the Arabo-Berbers. Whereas the Negritudists limit the scope of unity to those who belong to the community of Black or hardcore African culture and civilization, the Sub-Saharans' spokespeople, like Chief Obafemi Awolowo, wish to exclude from African unity any Arab elements whose loyalty to Africa is dubious (Legum, 1972).

Furthermore, there are the *Micro-Nationalists*, who have embraced the idea of territorial nationalism a la Europe. Having been made the highly rewarded successors of the former colonial masters, and seemingly reluctant to contract any greater political marriages with their next-door neighbors, many of the new African leaders have found in Micro-Nationalism an ideological instrument of rationalization. This ideology now rationalizes and explains the deeds and misdeeds of the leaders to the less sophisticated masses. Pan-Africanism, with all of its inherited problems and controversies, is given lip service and hence made toothless and ineffective. The Micro-Nationalists have emerged as powerful figures in

Africa. Furthermore, the assumption of political independence has led some of the Micro-Nationalists to pursue some reactionary policies that work against the original aims and objectives of the Pan-Africanist Movement.

The postcolonial attempts at continental unity underscore the contradictions that have since surfaced in Africa, and the manner in which they are being handled by the respective parties to the ideological conflict. As indicated above, the conflicts that plague the Pan-Africanist Movement today were incipient and embryonic at the early stages of the Movement. They had not matured largely because of the level of material and cultural development within the Black world. With greater material development, during both the colonial and postcolonial periods, many structural and psychological changes have taken place in all four corners of the Black world. Changes in the world economy and in the relationships between the overdeveloped countries of the West and the underdeveloped countries in the newly liberated Third World countries have combined to push to the fore all the contradictions that were previously swept under the thick rug of Black solidarity. With the sudden outbursts of these conflicts and contradictions, the Pan-Africanist Movement, especially as symbolized by the Sixth Pan-African Conference in Dar es Salaam, has now become the politically haunted house where the ghost of Karl Marx is battling that of Marcus Garvey for control and space for a spiritual rest.

The struggle over the future of Africa and Pan-Africanism hangs in the balance. This is largely because the Pan Africanists must resolve a fundamental contradiction in their world views. The conflict lies not in what Africa will be, but whose ideas will rule the minds and bodies of Africa and, in turn, those of the Pan-Africanists in the United States and the Carribbean. This question takes us back to the initial argument. The Pan-African idea was the brainchild of the New World Africans, and its eventual realization will depend on how the American society fares in the world economy and how Africans are treated in the stock exchanges and trade and commercial centers of the world. If the scientific socialists in Africa and the Americas get their way, Pan-Africanism will metamorphose into an African version of the Marxist Dream, and the successors of Kwame Nkrumah will be comparable to the Leninist successors of the Russian Pan-Slavists, whose dream was finally realized but under totally different circumstances.

On the other hand, if the deracialization of the Pan-Africanist idea is not successfully carried out by either the Black Marxists or their cousins, the Socialists, then the legacy of Marcus Garvey will prevail. Africa will be a giant partner in the capitalist world, and the Diasporic Blacks who are committed to Assimilationism in the United States will see a partial

fulfillment of their dream of active participation in American society. Such a participation will draw them into business and political partnerships with African capitalist governments that are working very closely with the centers of capitalism in the West. Liberia in West Africa and Kenya in East Africa are examples of such capitalist governments. Pan-Africanism, under the above arrangement, will not be what Marcus Garvey dreamed about, nor will it be the fulfillment of the Osagyefo.

Our attempt has been to assess and critique the evolution of Pan-Africanism that led Africans and the Africans in the Diaspora to a crossroad. The African peoples must now decide whether they can blaze a new trail which will make them free and independent from either of the two giant nuclear powers, or whether they are going to continue in the role of cheerleader, shouting feverishly at the actors whose power and unity have historically catapulted them into prominence and then granted them the right to shape their own destiny. In other words, the Pan-Africanist idea is currently in search of actors who can fulfill its destiny. The Osagyefo was the boldest of Africa's children to fill that role; he has failed. Will another son of the harassed continent appear in the person of a Leninist Garvey or a Ricardian DuBois?

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APPENDIX C

Edward Blyden's Biographical Outline

1832 August 3	Born in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
1842-1944	Family lived in Proto Bello, Venezuela
1850 May	Visited the United States in attempt to get into Theological College but failed
1850 December	Emigrated to Liberia
1851 October	Enrolled at Alexander High School, Monrovia
1855/6	Editor of Liberia Herald
1856	Published A Voice From Bleeding Africa, the first of many pamphlets
1861	Liberian Educational Commissioner to Britain and the United States
1862	Liberian Commissioner to the United States to invite Negroes 'back to the Fatherland'
1862-1871	Professor of Classics at Liberia College
1964-1866	Liberian Secretary of State
1866 July - September	Visit to Egypt, Lebanon and Syria
1872-1873	Founder and Editor of the Negro newspaper in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and Government Agent to the Interior
1875-1877	Principal of Alexander High School at Harrisburg, Liberia
1877-1878	Liberian Ambassador to the Court of St. Thomas
1880-1884	President of Liberia College, and up to 1882, Minister of the Interior as well
1885	Unsuccessful Liberian Presidential candidate after when he became based in Sierra Leone
1866 September	Resigned from Prebyterian Church to become 'Minister of Truth'
1887	Publication of magnum opus, Christinaity, Islam and the Negro Race

1889/90 August-March	Seventh Visit to the Unites States; two months tour of 'Deep South'
1890/91 December February	First Visit to Lagor
1892	Liberian Ambassador to the Court of St. James
1894 April-July	Second Visit to Lagos
1895 July - September	Eighth and last visit to the United States
1896-1897	Agent of Native Affairs in Lagos
1898-1899	Spent mainly in Sierra Leone as a private teacher
1900 January 1901 March	Professor at Liberia College
1901-1906	Director of Mohammedan Education in Sierra Leone
1905 June - September	Liberian Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to London and Paris
1906-1912	Spent mainly in Sierra Leone 'in retirement'
1912 February 7	Died

APPENDIX D

JOSEPH EPHRAIM CASELY-HAYFORD

reproduced from the Dictionary of African Biography

CARTER G. WOODSON

Founder and Director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History